

# MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY

March, 1941

BERTHE M. MARTI. <i>Arnulfus and the 'Faits des Romains'</i> .....	3
ROGER B. OAKE. <i>Montesquieu and Hume</i> .....	25
ALLEN W. PORTERFIELD. <i>E. T. A. Hoffmann as a Lyric Writer</i> .....	43
SISTER MARY IMMACULATE. <i>"Sixty" as a Con- ventional Number and Other Chauceriana</i> .....	59
Z. S. FINK. <i>Milton and the Theory of Climatic Influence</i>	67
CARLOS BAKER. <i>Spenser, the Eighteenth Century, and Shelley's 'Queen Mab'</i> .....	81
JOHN T. FLANAGAN. <i>The Authenticity of Cooper's 'The Prairie'</i> .....	99
CLARENCE GOHDES. <i>A Note on Whitman's Use of the Bible as a Model</i> .....	105
SEABURY M. BLAIR. <i>The Succession of Lives in Spenser's Three Sons of Agape</i> .....	109
LAWRENCE MARSDEN PRICE. <i>Holland as a Mediator of English-German Literary Influences in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries</i> .....	115
REVIEWS .....	157

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## ARTICLES

Berthe M. Marti. Arnulfus and the <i>Faits des Romains</i> .....	3
Roger B. Oake. Montesquieu and Hume.....	25
Allen W. Porterfield. E. T. A. Hoffmann as a Lyric Writer...	43
Sister Mary Immaculate. "Sixty" as a Conventional Number and Other Chauceriana.....	59
Z. S. Fink. Milton and the Theory of Climatic Influence.....	67
Carlos Baker. Spenser, the Eighteenth Century, and Shelley's <i>Queen Mab</i> .....	81
John T. Flanagan. The Authenticity of Cooper's <i>The Prairie</i> ..	99
Clarence Gohdes. A Note on Whitman's Use of the Bible as a Model.....	105
Seabury M. Blair. The Succession of Lives in Spenser's Three Sons of Agape.....	109
Lawrence Marsden Price. Holland as a Mediator of English- German Literary Influences in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries .....	115

## REVIEWS

Charles Sears Baldwin. Renaissance Literary Theory and Practice.	
Elizabeth J. Sweeting. Studies in Early Tudor Criticism, Linguistic and Literary.	
William Ringler, commentator, and Walter Allen, Jr., translator. Oratio in Laudem Artis Poeticae by John Rainolds.	
Herbert David Rix. Rhetoric in Spenser's Poetry. [Frederick M. Padelford].....	123
Alberto D'Elia. A Bibliography of Italian Dialect Dictionaries [Herbert H. Vaughan].....	129
Douglas W. Alden. Marcel Proust and his French Critics.	
Francis J. Crowley. Voltaire's <i>Poème sur la loi naturelle</i> , A Critical Edition. [Jean David].....	131

F. W. Kaufmann. German Dramatists of the 19th Century. [ <i>A. M. Sauerlander</i> ]	134
Richard Samuel and R. Hinton Thomas. Expressionism in Ger- man Life, Literature and the Theatre. [ <i>Edmund E. Miller</i> ]	136
E. H. Criswell. Lewis and Clark: Linguistic Pioneers. [ <i>Kemp Malone</i> ]	137
Charles W. Kennedy, translator. <i>Beowulf: The Oldest</i> English Epic. [ <i>Martin B. Ruud</i> ]	138
Thomas A. Kirby. Chaucer's <i>Troilus</i> : A Study in Courtly Love. [ <i>D. D. Griffith</i> ]	140
Alfred Harbage. Annals of English Drama, 975-1700. [ <i>James G. McManaway</i> ]	141
James Emerson Phillips, Jr. The State in Shakespeare's Greek and Roman Plays. [ <i>Brents Stirling</i> ]	144
Cleanth Brooks. Modern Poetry and the Tradition. [ <i>Rosemond Tuve</i> ]	147
Olan V. Cook, compiler. Incunabula in the Hanes Collection of the Library of the University of North Carolina. [ <i>John S. Richards</i> ]	150
Percy Van Dyke Shelly. The Living Chaucer. [ <i>Thomas A. Kirby</i> ]	151
Books Received	157

## ARNULFUS AND THE *FAITS DES ROMAINS*

By BERTHE M. MARTI

Not until many more commentaries on the Latin authors have been published shall we have a clear picture of the study of the classics in the different schools during the Renaissance of the twelfth century. In a recent article,<sup>1</sup> Sneyders de Vogel has stressed the value to Romance Language scholars of studies and editions of such commentaries. They not only give us valuable information about classical scholarship in the different schools but provide parallels and source material for much that is not clear in the literature of the period. In this paper we shall first give a description of a twelfth-century scholar's commentary on Lucan and then show that this commentary is an important source of the Old French compilation known as the *Faits des Romains*.

### I.

#### *A Twelfth Century Scholar's Interpretation of the "Pharsalia."*

During the second part of the twelfth century Magister Arnulfus was lecturing on Ovid, Lucan, and other authors at the University of Orleans. His commentary, found in numerous manuscripts and still unpublished,<sup>2</sup> was written at the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century.<sup>3</sup> A reference to the death of Thomas Becket provides a *terminus post quem* (1170), while the fact that the commentary was used by the author of the *Faits des Romains* (dated 1213/14 by its editors)<sup>4</sup> indicates the beginning of the thirteenth century as the *terminus ante quem*.

The author has been identified with the red-headed French scholar connected with the monastery of Saint-Evurce in Orleans

<sup>1</sup> "Recherches sur les *Faits des Romains*," *Romania*, LIX (1933), p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> Numerous manuscripts of this *Commentary* are listed in Chs. Weber, *Marci Annaei Lucani Pharsalia* (Leipzig, 1831), III, pp. XX-XXIII. I have used Vindob. 130, Harl. 6502, Monac. 14688.

<sup>3</sup> Various dates have been suggested for Arnulfus' *Commentary*, the 10th century by Chs. Weber, *loc. cit.*, p. xx; the 11th century by M. Manitius, *Gesch. der Lat. Lit. des Mittelalters*, III (1931), p. 238, and Chs. Cuissard "Professeurs orléanais, Foulques, Arnoul et Hugue le Primat," *Bull. de la soc. arch. et hist. de l'Orléanais*, X, p. 416; the 12th and 13th century by L. Delisle, "Les écoles d'Orléans," *Annuaire-Bulletin de la soc. de l'histoire de France*, XXIX, pp. 573 ff., F. Ghisalberti, "Arnolfo d'Orleans, un cultore di Ovidio nel sec. xii," *Mem. del Ist. Lombardo di sc. e lett.*, XIV, 4, pp. 157 ff., E. Faral, *Arts Poétiques du xii<sup>e</sup> et xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle*, p. 2, n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> L.-F. Flutre and K. Sneyders de Vogel, *Li "Fet des Romains," compilé ensemble de Saluste et de Suetone et de Lucan* (Paris, 1938). K. Sneyders de Vogel, "La date des *Faits des Romains*," *Neophilologus*, XVII (1932).

whom Matthieu de Vendôme attacked with such fury under the nickname Rufus and Ruffinus in his *Ars Poetica*.<sup>5</sup> Arnulfus follows and makes use of a long line of commentators upon Lucan who, with the exception of Vacca,<sup>6</sup> remain anonymous and whom he usually quotes with anger and contempt. Their remarks are introduced with the words: "friulum (or absurdum) esse uidetur quod quidam dicunt" (i. 1; i. 608, etc.); "quidam miseri dicunt (or somp-niant)" (viii. 872; ii. 402; v. 224).

There is nothing original in the *Accessus*, which conforms to the pattern described by Eva Sanford in her article on "The Manuscripts of Lucan, *Accessus* and *Marginalia*" (*Speculum*, IX [1934], pp. 278 ff.). It includes a life of Lucan based on the epitaph, a summary of the civil war and a statement as to *materia, intentio, utilitas, cui parti philosophie supponatur, titulus* and *modus scribendi*.

The commentary shows that Arnulfus was a man of wide reading, with an enquiring mind and an encyclopaedic knowledge. He quotes Virgil, Ovid, Juvenal, Statius, Macrobius, Cicero, Sal-lust, Horace, Suetonius, Servius, Priscian, Julius Firminus, Boe-thius, Isidore of Seville, and even Homer and Plato. It is a text-book as well as an annotated edition, ranging from the most ele-mentary rules of grammar to complicated problems of astronomy and philosophy.

In the *Accessus*, Arnulfus emphasizes one of the main reasons for Lucan's great popularity in the Middle Ages, his moralizing tendency. According to him, Lucan intended to make the four cardinal virtues, courage, temperance, prudence, and justice, at-tractive through the example of Cato and others. A little later in the commentary, he states clearly that such is the duty of a poet: "et bene dicuntur poete canere quia metrice scribunt et continentiam et concordiam morum persuadere intendunt" (i. 1). Again later: "et est quasi quedam deliberatio que tendit ad honestum et utile impug-nando contrarium" (i. 8) and also: "nota in eo quattuor principales uirtutes scilicet iustitiam modestiam prudentiam fortitudinem" (ii. 382). He is therefore very anxious to clear Lucan of the possible accusation of flattery, particularly in the matter of the dedication of the poem to Nero. For him, as for other commentators, the whole passage is a satire of the emperor: "nunc pro inuocatione de-riisionem ipsius neronis ponit cui deificationem yronice promittit" (i. 45), and again (i. 37) "hoc de nerone totum yronice."

<sup>5</sup> E. Faral, *loc. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> B. M. Marti, "Three new glosses from Vacca's Commentary on Lucan," *Class. Phil.*, xxxvi (1941) p. 64 f.

The long didactic passages are another great cause of the mediaeval enthusiasm for Lucan, who is regarded by Arnulfus as an authority in grammar, rhetoric, astronomy, the natural sciences, and philosophy. I shall now quote some of his comments concerning these subjects in order to illustrate his method and the contents of his commentary. Each book is introduced by a brief summary of contents, book iii for instance thus:

hic incipit tertius liber cuius tota hec est continentia. Primo romam redivit cesaris a brundisio, deinde communis erarii spoliatio, tertio pompeianorum collectio, quarto massiliensium subiugatio per brutum quem loco suo reliquerat cesar cum hispaniam transiret et in hoc finit.

The comments then begin with a phrase like *continuatio est talis*. The *lemma* is underlined and quoted in very abbreviated form, the words *sic construe*, *sic lege* or *ordo est* often introducing a rearrangement of the phrase, thus: "*sic construe CEDETUR id est concedetur TIBI AB OMNI NUMINE QUIS DEUS ESSE UELIS id est cuiuscumque dei officium habere*" (i. 51).

Occasional directions are given as to the tone of voice in which different passages are to be read aloud:

- ix. 1064 AUFER cum iracundia dicendum est et uoce alta.
- i. 249 summissa uoce legendi sunt uersus isti,
- i. 288 cum indignatione legendum est.

The glosses on grammar are very simple. They consist mainly in paraphrases of Lucan's words, straightening out of the poetical order, and remarks about forms and cases. It will be enough to quote a few:

- i. 166 ACCERSITUR nota quod istud uerbum quando est ter-tie coniugationis habet duo c, quando quarte habet c et r et declinatur arcessio, sis, et utrumque componitur ex ad et cieo, cies.
- i. 73 mundi construi potest cum secula uel cum hora, ut dica-mus secula mundi uel suprema hora mundi.
- ii. 17 CONSTATURA . . . a consto, constas, quod est uerbum pretii designatium unde cum genetiuo uel cum ablatiuo construitur, uerbi gratia quanti constat, quanto constat.
- v. 27 COMES comitans, nota quod genus confudit.
- v. 70 DELPHICA delphi, delphorum, et nomen est populi et nomen uille, sicut gabii.
- v. 85 ADITO nota differentiam inter aditum quarte et se-cunde declinationis.

Arnulfus, partly because he is compiling older commentaries, often suggests different interpretations or explanations, leaving the student his choice as to the more correct, as in vi. 248: "HIC aduerbium est, id est in hoc loco, uel HIC pronomen, id est cesar."

A great many items are simple definitions of technical terms or of difficult words:

- i. 582 ANIENIS fluuius iuxta quem sepultus est marius et declinatur anio anienis.
- ii. 70 ULVA herba est palustris.
- iii. 210 METALLUS quedam maneria est terre.
- v. 442 BESSI genus est uehiculi.
- v. 418 CARCHESIA summitates malorum rotundas ad modum carchesiorum que sunt uasa rotunda.
- vi. 221 AMENTAUIT cum amento misit, amentum est habena id est corrigiola cum qua mittitur iaculum.

When the construction has been made clear the general sense of the passage is given (sensus est talis, i. 281) and the author's intention explained: "hic intendit eos ab amore patrie reuocare" (i. 359).

The commentary shows Arnulfus' interest in style, the technique of writing and, particularly, the plan of the *Pharsalia*. The popularity of Artes Dictaminis at this time, and particularly at Orleans, is well known; it is even possible that Arnulfus wrote such a treatise himself. The following glosses illustrate this type of comment:

- i. 318 QUID IAM RURA occupatio est color retoricus.
- ix. 880 PATIENTIA emphasis est.
- i. 3 uiscera uocat uitas quia unusquisque alii auferebat uitam et est metonomia.
- x. 199 periphrasis est.
- v. 617 PESSUM DEDIT una est dictio sed in duobus uersibus themesata et significat prostrauit.
- viii. 477 HUNC GENUIT parentesis est.
- ii. 142 EXCESSIT MEDICINA MODUM metaphorice loquitur sicut medicus quando uult abscindere putridam carnem dum aliquem sanat malefacit si in secundo modum excedit.
- i. 69 IN ARMA FURENTEM IMPULERIT POPULUM QUID PACEM EXCUSSERIT histeron proteron facit, prius enim pace orbi excussa ad bellum sunt expulsi postea.
- iv. 661 ecce causa digressionis.



Numerous etymologies fill the pages of the commentary; they are not derived, as a rule, from Isidore of Seville. As they are of the fanciful type so common in the Middle Ages, I shall quote only a few:

- vi. 664 EUMENIDES eu bonum, mene defectio uel defectus, quia in earum presentia omne bonum deficit.
- vii. 166 UICTIMA signum uictorie est et bene utitur ethimologia nominis nam uictima dicitur a uictoria.
- iii. 220 PHENICES populi qui literas inuenerunt prius, et dicuntur a pheniceo colore, id est rubeo, inde etiam capitales librorum litere rubee scribuntur quia rubei erant qui literas inuenerunt.
- i. 346 PIRATE dicti sunt ab igne quem secum deferebant ut alii nauigantes viso eo de nocte, putantes ibi esse portum, ad eos uenientes caperentur.
- i. 30 PIRRUS dictus est a pyr quod est ignis quia rubeus fuit.
- vi. 129 aquila dicitur ab acumine oculorum, miluus a molli uolatu, passer a patiando.
- iii. 12 ELISIIS eleison, id est miserere, unde elisii campi quasi campi misericordie ubi requiescebant pii, uel ELISII extra lesionem positi.
- iii. 182 ariopagum, id est uillam uirtutis nam ares uirtus, pagus uilla.
- i. 445 TEUTATES id est mercurius, unde teutonici a deo suo ita sunt dicti, athenatos grece, immortalis latine, theos deus, inde teutates mercurius.
- i. 1 EMATHIOS . . . regio est ab ematho rege nominata uel ab emac quod est sanguis unde dicitur acheldemac in passione domini, id est ager sanguinis quia forsitan aliquis preuiderat ibi effusionem sanguinis futuram et ideo a sanguine eum uocauit.
- i. 230 OCIO ab ocos grece quod est uelox latine.
- ii. 213 amnis dicitur ab an quod est circum et no nas, quia circumnata aliquando cursum.
- vii. 774 nota quod dixit uultus senum et figuras iuuenum, uultus a uolo uis dicitur, figura a fingendo; senum est ostendere uultu quod in animo habent, iuuenum uero fictum habere uultum nec animo respondentem.

Glosses on classical authors provided the twelfth-century teacher with a convenient medium through which to impart much general knowledge on various subjects. Arnulfus does not attempt to coordinate or systematize the incidental information and the numerous discussions scattered through the commentary for the instruction of the students. Items concerning magic, science and philosophy are presented casually, according to the train of thought

started by the words of Lucan, and are based on tradition, glossaries, compendia and earlier commentaries. Since there is in the *Pharsalia* a great deal of scientific information, Arnulfus' comments on such passages are plentiful and include his own views on the subject under discussion. He has much to say about the sun, the seasons and other natural phenomena such as thunder and lightning, earthquakes, eclipses, the tides, etc. The doctrine of the humors is taken for granted, and applies to the stars as well as to all living things:

Planetarum siquidem quidam sunt humidi et frigidi, quidam et calidi et sicci; humidi et frigidi ut saturnus, luna, calidi et sicci ut mars, sol (i. 651).

He tells us that a red sky at night means good weather, in the morning, rain. The color of the moon is another way of foretelling the weather. The moon being humid and cold is mistress of the sea, and its growth causes the tides. Because it is cold and dry, Saturn has power over snow and ice, while Mars, hot and dry, is the cause of the winds.

Likewise, Arnulfus explains why men are bolder in the North than they are in the South:

frigiditas que habundat in septentrionalibus constringit poros corporum et non patitur exire naturalem calorem qui latet interius et uirtutem caloris est autem dissoluere. Calor ergo qui habundat in oppositis partibus dissoluit poros et aperiuntur et cum sudore extrahitur ignis naturalis qui est interius (viii. 363).

A few items of pseudo-scientific information may now be added, first concerning medicine and anatomy:

cum timet homo sanguis hominis, uenis dimissis, confugit ad cor unde frigit artus sanguine uacui et rigent, inde etiam colorem amittit homo et fit palidus (i. 246).

For all the warmth and energy in the human body is due to the blood which runs through the veins (*ibid.*). Elsewhere he says:

a superiori elemento contrahimus calorem cuius sedes est cor, ab aere spiritum cuius sedes est pulmo, a terra et aqua cibum et potum quorum sedes est stomachus (i. 3).

Later he explains the relation between body and soul: "anima enim quibusdam consonantiis musicis et quibusdam inuisibilibus gumphis compacta corpori gaudet suo consimili" (ii. 23).

He is interested in mathematics and physics, and even mentions what he considers scientific experiments:

- ii. 587 syene ciuitas est recto puncto ita sub sole quod non habet huc uel illuc umbras, ad quod probandum philosophi ibi altum puteum cauauerunt et sol ita de recto in fundum putei intrauit quod a nullo eius margine umbram fecit. Sed hoc non euenit nisi in una hora et in uno die quando scilicet sol est in centro cancri.
- ii. 270 olympus mons est altissimus et excedens nubes unde nullam sentit uentorum perturbationem quod ita probauerunt philosophi: Cum festo finito descenderent, in summitate scripserunt litteras in puluere quas inuenientes quasi nouas in alio quinquennio locum esse probauerunt sine omni uento.

His information about the natural sciences is sometimes fanciful, as it is in the following comments:

- vi. 676 SAXA de gagate intelligit qui est frigidissimus lapis unde aquila que est nimii caloris adeo quod oua quibus incubat coqueret nisi lapidem illum ad calorem suum reprimendum frigore lapidis nido apponeret.
- vi. 675 ESCHINUS piscis est semipedalis qui retinet pupim uento impellente et hoc fit uirtute lapidis quem habet in fronte.

His knowledge of geography is surprisingly good, although not faultless, as for instance when he says that Lemannus is a river from which Alemannia is derived (i. 396).

From his many comments concerning the nature of the world, the stars and their motions, Arnulfus' conception of the universe may be partly reconstructed. For him, as for other scholars of the twelfth century, the earth is round and motionless; it is the centre of a spherical universe and the sky, the sun and the stars revolve around it as does a door upon its hinges (i. 553). About the motions of the planets, he quotes philosophers who think that they move in a direction contrary to that of the firmament for: "Firmamentum naturaliter uolubile" (vi. 462), and again: "sol enim in orientem ab occidente sicut alii planete uoluitur, firmamentum autem ab oriente in occidentem" (vii. 3). If they all rushed in the same direction, the air would be stirred so violently, the seas and lands would be so shaken that no animal could live in them. Accordingly God created the seven planets and opposed them to the firmament in order to slow up its motion (x. 199). He describes at great length, and particularly in the ninth book, the spheres and the twelve signs of the zodiac, the motions of the stars and their causes. The sun possesses the power of attraction, it is like *adamas*, the lodestone which attracts to itself what is very close. The stars that are at a certain distance are not absorbed by the sun, but its power of attraction makes them stay in place.

Some people think, Arnulfus says, that there are other worlds besides ours. Our own is a sphere containing three kingdoms, the first is the earth and the sky, the second is the sea, and the third is Infernus. The earth is motionless (v. 92); its center is occupied by a fire which he calls *attractive* and which is the cause of gravitation. The opposite side of the globe is Antipodes (i. 20). The earth is surrounded by air and is said to be supported by it (i. 89).

Like many mediaeval scholars, Arnulfus is well versed in astronomy, a science of which he tells us that Caesar had made a thorough study and which he does not separate from astrology since he believes in the influence of the stars over men's lives. To the question: why is it that some stars are favorable to mankind and others harmful (i. 600)? he answers:

Hec est ratio. Sol et luna nostre vite sunt auctores. Cum enim aliqua anima a lacteo circulo per planetas descendens solem ingreditur, ab eo mutuatur v sensus quos exercet coniuncta corpori, a luna autem natura crescendi. Sed inter alios planetas quidam cum illis duobus, scilicet sole et luna, per multas proportionalitates coniunguntur. Illi quibus magis concordant salubres, qui uero minus, nociui indicantur.

Arnulfus' philosophy is steeped in superstition and is mostly concerned with astrology and theories of the after-life. He knows something of the epicurean and stoic doctrines, and quotes various opinions concerning the divinity, the soul and the universe in general. His thought, however, is influenced to a great extent by neoplatonism. Most interesting are his descriptions of the circles which form the universe and of the destiny of the soul after death.<sup>7</sup> As

<sup>7</sup> I quote a brief extract from the long gloss to ix. 4:

Nam anime dicuntur esse create ad numerum stellarum et quecumque anima dicitur nutriri cum sua stella. Dicuntur etiam quattuor genera esse uirtutum, inferioris ordinis sunt politice uirtutes que in rectoribus urbium inueniuntur, alie sunt purgatorie sicut philosophorum qui si aliquando trahuntur ad illicita statim penitet eos, alie sunt iam purgati animi sicut sunt anime heremitarum et hoc totum habent in ipsis corporibus, alie sunt exemplarie aliarum in mente conditoris que etiam purgatissimi dicuntur animi et iste angelorum esse possunt. . . . Sed ille anime que possident purgatorias uel purgati animi uirtutes non morantur in purgatione post dissolutionem corporis sed statim ad comparem redeunt stellam. Rectoris uero urbium sicut pompeii et aliorum anime purgantur in ipso aere; et sicut descendendo in singulis planetis amiserat aliquid diuinitatis et corpoream receperat naturam, ita in ascendendo exiit ista et recipit priora. . . . Et nota quod platonicum mundum in duo diuiserunt, in ipsum firmamentum et in cursum planetarum et diuiserunt in nouem circulos, in septem circulos planetarum et in ipsum applanos et preterea in ipsam terram. Et nota quod cetera, que non continentur in superiori diuisione sicut sunt anime rusticorum et alie, non soluantur in generalitatem sed intrant de uno corpore in aliud et ita intrando descendit usque in finem, tandem despiscit et incipit ascendere et ita facit usque ad centum annos, deinde soluuntur et patiuntur diuersas penas, sic tandem perueniunt ad octauum circulum et bibunt de letheo flumine si debent aliq̃ue earum ad corpus redire. . . .

they come through the circles, the souls forget their knowledge and must go through the sign of Cancer where they drink oblivion. Otherwise they would know the future, like the angels.

In his comments about religion he has the impersonal and tolerant attitude of the scholar. About that time, Alexander de Villadei was writing these verses about Orleans:

Sacrificare deis nos edocet Aurelianus,  
Indicens festum Fauni, Iouis atque Lyaei,  
Haec est pestifera, David testante, cathedra,  
In qua non sedit uir sanctus, perniciosam  
Doctrinam fugiens, quae sicut habetur ibidem,  
Est quasi diffundens multis contagia morbus.

Delisle's suggestion that they were directed against Arnulfus seems most likely, for not only did he write a commentary on Ovid's *Fasti*, but the pages of the Lucan commentary are filled with pagan mythology. He explains what he knows about the gods and their cult with obvious interest and without the slightest trace of dislike or indignation. For instance when Lucan says of the Jewish religion: "et dedita sacris incerti Iudaea," Arnulfus' only comment is:

INCERTI quia gentiles putabant deum esse incertum quem nec uidebant nec audiebant cum ipsi suorum haberent imagines deorum quas uidebant (ii. 593).

The numerous mythological allusions in Lucan are either barely pointed out (iv. 550: nota est fabula de caedmo) or briefly summarized, but most frequently the legends are allegorized. The story of Atreus and Thyestes (i. 544) is an allegory of the soul wandering on earth, Atreus representing the body and Thyestes the soul. The Eumenides are the three kinds of evil:

Eumenides sunt tres quia tria sunt genera mali. Primum est in cogitatione, secundum in locutione, tertium in operatione, unde nomina quoque eis conueniunt.

There are a great many similar allegories, or moralized versions of mythological stories.

Typically mediaeval are also the constant allusions and references to Christian stories to illustrate pagan material. Describing a sacrifice Arnulfus says that if the victim was recalcitrant it was a bad omen: "ideo bona fuit pro nobis uictima agnus dei qui tollit peccata mundi quia sicut agnus ad occisionem ductus est" (i. 609). Commenting upon Lucan's line "iuuit sumpta ducem, iuuit dimissa potestas," Arnulfus compares Cato to Job: "sicut iob dicentem

dominus dedit dominus abstulit" (ix. 200). A place is sometimes made sacred by the death of a hero, "sicut domini crucifixio sacrum facit caluarie locum" (ix. 83). Lucan mentions the gold of Arabia, and Arnulfus explains: "quia sicut habetur in genesi, aurum illius terre optimum est" (ix. 517). Later he says that Constantine was forbidden by an angel to repair Troy (ix. 998) and that Pompey was conquered because he had turned the temple of the Lord in Jerusalem into stables (ii. 593). To explain why Lucan uses the word *seculum* in the plural (i. 73), Arnulfus says:

secula enim dicit pluraliter quia multa erunt millenaria annorum uel centenaria ante finem mundi, uel propter aureum, argenteum, eneum, et etiam cetera a metallis denominata; uel primum seculum ante diluuium usque ad noe, secundum post diluuium, tertium usque ad abraham, quartum usque ad dauid, quintum usque ad christum.

He defines Lucan's use of the word *laetis* (iii: 80) thus: "leta cantantibus sicut est te deum laudamus et gloria in excelsis deo." Speaking of steadiness of purpose he adds: "minime nocet uis bono quia pro ui ulla non frangitur a proposito quod apparuit in beato Laurentio" (ix. 569). When Lucan says of augury that it is "tacitum sed fas," Arnulfus adds: "quedam tacite fiunt que sunt illicita sicut sacra nigromantica, quedam fiunt tacite que sunt licita sicut secreta in missa" (vi. 430). Passages from the Bible are quoted, monks and the day of the last judgment are mentioned quite casually to illustrate the text of Lucan.

Arnulfus believes, of course, in magic and classifies the magic arts under five heads, following the exact order, though not the words, of Hugh of St. Victor's classification in the *Didaskalion*. He adds that Caesar was a master of magic.

He frequently interrupts his detailed interpretation of Lucan's text to tell a story or to bring in contemporary parallels in order to stimulate the interest of his students. Thus the line "tunc in reges populosque merentis sparsus honor" (v. 49) is explained by a reference to the mediaeval custom of throwing coins to the populace and rewarding princes at the election of a new pope. "Gallorum captus spoliis" (iv. 820) reminds him of two lines of late Latin poetry about a greedy pope:

diu est quod nos spoliare auro ceperunt romani, unde quidam noster aurelianensis de quodam papa qui in galliam ueniens circa alpes interiiit hos uersus edidit:

iamiam trans alpes premasticabat ad aurum  
gallorum rome non satianda fames.

He tells the story of Alexander hearing the prophecy that he would die at Babylon (x. 38) and another concerning two children whom the king brought up on fish alone, in order that they might subsist while looking for the sources of the Nile:

duos pueros natos primum fecit uesci piscibus et adultos piscatores fecit. Hos nauigio ortum nili misit querere qui reuersi sunt postquam eum adeo calidum senserunt quod uesci piscibus eius non poterant (x. 40).

When speaking of miracles, he mentions the heifer that reproached the man who was hitting it with the words: "quid me urges?" (i. 561). He compares Cato's resolve not to cut his hair or nails for the duration of the war to a custom prevalent among clerics while waiting for their appeal to be heard: "unde inoleuit usus inter clericos quod qui appellarent donec prosecuta appellatione se non tonderent" (ii. 374). Cato's lack of interest in selfish pleasure he contrasts with the hypocrisy of the priests who tell lies to justify their immoderate drinking:

sicut pontifices faciunt cum album et forte uinum causa glutonitatis potant, se causa infirmitatis sanande quia thisici sunt potare illud simulant (ii. 391).

Let us finally quote an interesting explanation of Lucan's famous line about the Germans: "Uidimus et Martem Libyes cursumque furoris Teutonici" (i. 255). "Quia quasi furibundi," says Arnulfus, "cum impetu irati omnia incipiunt, inde rome in rogationibus dicitur a furore teutonico libera nos domine."

## II.

### *Arnulfus' "Commentarium" as a Source of the "Faits des Romains"*

The *Faits des Romains* is a Life of Caesar compiled out of Lucan, Suetonius and Sallust by an anonymous French author at the beginning of the thirteenth century. This work and its sources has been studied in detail by L.-F. Flutre and K. Sneyders de Vogel. I shall show that in the third part of his compilation, which is a free translation and adaptation of the *Pharsalia*, the anonymous author has constantly relied upon Arnulfus' *Commentary*. This fact could not be known to the editors of the *Faits des Romains* since Arnulfus' *Commentary* is still unpublished. Thus, in his article "Sur les Faits des Romains" (*Romania* LIX [1933] 69) Sneyders de Vogel after quoting several passages, the source of which he suspects to be unpublished scholia on Lucan adds:

Il en va peut-être autrement du passage suivant (fol. 115 a): Après avoir raconté d'après Lucain et Suétone la traversée du Rubicon,



notre traducteur ajoute: "L'en trove neporquant en aucune escripture que les legions n'osoient passer Rubicon apres lui, come cil qui se doutoient de mespre<n>dre vers le comun de Rome. Mes Cesar, qui sot asez de nigromance et d'astrenomie, fist aparoir une trop grant ost de gent armee qui par devers France fesoient sanblant d'anvaïr ses legions: dont il avint que, por crieme de cele gent dont il cuidoiient avoir l'assaut, il passerent l'iaue apres lor seignor." Comme ce développement a un autre caractère que ceux que nous avons étudiés jusqu'ici, il est fort possible que notre auteur ait puisé à une autre source. . . . La source directe où notre auteur a puisé m'est pourtant inconnue.

The source of this extraordinary story is the following passage in Arnulfus' *Commentary*:

Uacca dicit cum milites cesaris nollent transire fluuium armati ne contra leges facerent, cesar fecit milites qui suos inuaserunt quos sui fugientes ultra fluuium armati transierunt.

Again, the author of the *Faits* has found in Arnulfus the following comment to Lucan I. 564: "CARMINA DURA de tribus r.r.r. et de tribus f.f.f. que significabant regnum ruet rome, ferro flamma fame." He uses it thus: "Li uns disoit a l'autre: 'Par foi, je cuit que nos somes venu a la destruction que Seville nos promist en ses escriz, par fer, par feu, par flambe'" (360. 7-10). In the *Faits*, Caesar, irritated by Metellus' refusal to let him enter the temple of Saturn, exclaims: "Quides tu vengier Forré?" (393. 11-12). Forré, a Sarrasin king put to death by Roland, is only introduced into Caesar's speech because it is found in Arnulfus' gloss to this speech: "TE VINDICE TUTA RELICTA yronia est quasi tu vengeras forre" (iii. 137). His gloss, explaining the working of the tide (iv. 428), "NUDENTUR sicut in monte sancti michaelis," is translated in the *Faits*: "selonc ce que ele seut fere au mont saint Michiel" (434. 19-20).

When the commentator compares Caesar's wish to have neither funeral fire nor tomb to the legend of King Arthur (EXPECTER non creditus obiisse sicut artusius a britonibus, v. 671), the compiler says: "Ci me mambre de Artu, que li Breton atendent" (469. 27-28).

There are in the *Faits* certain phrases which seem to give us information about the anonymous author. For instance the editors think that when to his mention of the Decii as father and son he adds: "li autre[s] dient que l'uns fu oncles, li autres fu nies" (368. 16-18), he may be thinking of discussions in which he took part. In reality he is simply translating Arnulfus' *Commentary*: "decii duo fuerunt pater et filius. Alii dicunt auunculus et nepos" (ii. 305).



So numerous are the passages borrowed from Arnulfus by the author of the *Faits* that I can quote only a few. Much of his information he owes to Arnulfus and it is through the *Commentary* that he understands many of the more obscure lines of Lucan. Thanks to Arnulfus the French compiler knows that Pompey was not yet thirty years old when he celebrated his first triumph (vii. 19 = 505. 1); that he who had saved a citizen was given an oak wreath because "la glanz estoit jadis vie d'ome et sostenemenz ainz que les terres aportassent froment par gaaingnage" (i. 358 = 355. 6-8); that Capys, Aeneas' companion, built the city of Capua (ii. 393 = 372. 5); that Crassus was killed because he had "jadis fet un enui a un tribun qui defendoit le peuple" (iii. 126 = 392. 23-26); that the oracle at Delphi ordered Dido to build Carthage, Cadmus to build Thebes, and told the Athenians how to conquer Xerxes in a naval battle (v. 108 = 452. 14-22); that Marius, during the celebration of his triumph, forced Jugurtha to die by throwing himself down from the top of the triumphal arch (ix. 600 = 602. 5-7); that Alexander had twelve heirs (x. 44 = 622. 9-10) and that Caesar had invented "le jor de bissexté" (x. 187 = 628. 26-27). He also borrows from Arnulfus some of his queerest pseudo-scientific information about the fish, for instance "qui fet bien une nef arrester en mer," and the stone "que li aigles met en son ni por ses oes ecllorre" (vi. 675 = 501. 6-9).

Where Lucan mentions facts of history and geography, indirectly or by allusions, Arnulfus provides the specific reference. He also summarises for the compiler some of the longer or duller passages of the *Pharsalia*.

	Lucan	Arnulfus	Les Faits
i. 549	Vestali rap- tus ab ara ignis, et os- tendens con- fectas flam- ma Latinas	de hoc igne uaticinata fuit sibilla quod quan- do diuideretur cessa- rent latine uigilie	359. 27-29 et li devin l'- avoient dit lonc tens avant, que, quant cist feus se de- viseroit en ij parties, les festes as Romains cesse- roient lonc tens
i. 602	septemvir	id est summus pontifex qui preerat omnibus sacrificiis, quantum septem sacerdotes com- itabantur quorum pri- mus ignem portabat, se- cundus aquam, tertius cultrum, quartus mol- lam, quintus pecudes ducebat, sextus iussu pontificis iugulabat, septimus uasa sacrificii gestabat.	361. 4-8 li grant evesque aloient devant, qui s'entre- metoient des sacrefices; li menor prestre aloient apres, vestu et atorné a lor guise: li uns portoit le feu, li autres l'aue, li tierz le costel, li quar<r>z me- noit la beste, li autre les autres choses qui aparte- noient au sacrefice.

- |         |   |   |   |
|---------|---|---|---|
| i. 600  | et lotam<br>parvo revo-<br>cant Almone<br>Cybeben               | almo fluuius est in quo<br>lota fuit cibeles cum<br>irata contra tiberim<br>duci non posset, unde<br>adhuc cum irascitur in<br>almone abluatur  | 361. 11-14 L'ymage Cibeles<br>. . . fu lavezee en une<br><iaue> qui a non Almo,<br>car il creioient que ses<br>mantalenz li tresaloit,<br>quant ele estoit correee<br>vers la cité et est<oit><br>lavee en cel ru.  |
| ii. 506 | et mediis<br>subrept vi-<br>nea muris                           | uinea machina bellica<br>est de uitibus uinee<br>texta et ideo dicitur<br>uinea uel de alio uimine<br>facta ad modum tilie<br>. . . Superponuntur<br>coria ne transire pos-<br>sit calida aqua si de-<br>super fuerit iacta, super<br>coria ponitur terra ad<br>ictus elidendos tum<br>saxorum tum iaculo-<br>rum . . . | 376. 3-8 Tant que Cesar<br>fist fere un engin que<br>Lucans apele vigne, por ce<br>que cil engins est clos par<br>desus en sanblance d'une<br>treille, et le coeuvre l'en par<br>amont de boens cui[er]s<br>por recevoir les cops des<br>pierres et des pieux aguz.   |
| ii. 514 | vel, si libet,<br>arma re-<br>tempta                            | solent uictores a suis<br>captiuis cum eos absol-<br>uunt poscere ius iu-<br>randum ne amplius eos<br>infestent   | 376. 30-32 quant aucuns<br>dux selt prendre en ba-<br>taille son adversaire, il li<br>fet jurer a chief de fois<br>que il ne porte ja mes<br>armes contre lui;  |
| ii. 526 | nescius inte-<br>rea capti du-<br>cis arma<br>parabat<br>Magnus | audito pompeio quod<br>cesar obsederat domi-<br>tium nec audito quod<br>iam esset captus collec-<br>to exercitu uoluit ei<br>auxiliari . . . ne des-<br>perarent sui si domi-<br>tium et suos pateretur<br>iam capi   | 377. 16-19 Pompeius, qui<br>ot oies les noveles que Lu-<br>cius Domitius estoit assis,<br>ne ne savoit pas encore<br>que il fust pris, volst apa-<br>reillier comment il le se-<br>corroit, que cil de sa par-<br>tie ne fussent en desesper-<br>ance se il le lessoit en tel<br>maniere prendre.                         |
| ii. 572 | terrata quae-<br>sitis ostendit<br>terga Bri-<br>tannia?        | dixit se britanniam non<br>inuenisse nec hunc oc-<br>ceanum aliud litus ha-<br>bere. Hoc autem simu-<br>lauit gallos timens ne<br>si uictum eum intelli-<br>gerent opem querenti<br>non darent uel eum<br>contempnentes forsitan<br>interficerent.  | 379. 2-6 et lors dist il as<br>François que il ne pooit<br>trouver l'isle de Bretagne<br>(qui or a non Angle-<br>terre), ainz l'avoit quise<br>par tote la mer amont et<br>aval, tant que toz ses navi-<br>ges estoit perilliez; autre-<br>ment l'eüssent li François<br>ocis, ou il ne li feüssent<br>nul secors ja mes. |
| ii. 610 | Urbs est<br>Dictaeis o-<br>lim possessa<br>colonis              | hanc urbem dicuntur<br>edificasse cretenses . . .<br>a brundisium quod est<br>ceruus brundisium ap-<br>pellauerunt, quia ad<br>modum cornuum cerui<br>circumcirca sunt curui<br>montes.   | 380. 6-10 Genz essiliees de<br>Crete fonderent cete vile<br>et l'apelerent Brandiz, por<br>ces cornes de montaignes,<br>car <i>brundus</i> est <i>cers</i> en<br>lor langage et ces cornes<br>ont plusors broçons de<br>roches autresi comme la<br>corne dou cerf a plusors<br>rains.                                     |

- ii. 672    super aequo-    . . . et desuper crates,  
ra Xersen    et super eas terram  
construxisse    posuit . . . XERSEM  
vias    . . . consimilem fecit  
pontem super mare  
quod mare braccium  
sancti georgii dicitur.
- iii. 154    magnoque    propter enee portas  
reclusas tes-    nam cum tribuni era-  
tatur stri-    rium in potestate sua  
dore fores    habentes clam publicam  
subtraherent pecuniam  
eneae fores facte sunt  
tali arte quod in aperi-  
endo stridore suo to-  
tam excitarent urbem.
- iii. 159    fuga Pyr-    pirrus rex fuit epiro-  
rhus trepi-    tarum; hic obsederat  
dante reli-    urbem sed postea fu-  
quit    gatus multum ibi re-  
liquit aurum. Fabricius  
consul romanus cum  
pirrus infinitum pondus  
auri ei promitteret ut  
romam sibi proderet  
dicitur ei respondisse:  
romani nolunt aurum  
sed imperare habenti-  
bus aurum. Postea pir-  
ro in fugam uerso illud  
idem aurum habuerunt  
romani.
- iii. 179    Dryopesque    isti uocati sunt hispani,  
hoc est infami genere  
orti. Dum enim lacede-  
mones contra athenien-  
ses pugnarent, timentes  
ne moriendo in bello  
deficerent, mandaue-  
runt eis qui in patria  
remanserant ut cum  
quibuscumque concum-  
berent et inde nati sunt  
isti.
382. 22-24    L'en troeve  
lisant que Xerses, li rois  
d' Athenes, avoit fet jadis  
un autre tel pont de mer-  
rien et de cloies par mi le  
bras saint George
394. 11-18    Car les portes  
estoient de coivre et fu-  
rent fetes tot a escient par  
tel art que eles sonoient  
al ovrir si que l'oïe dou  
son aloit par tote la cité.  
. . . Por ce firent li Ro-  
main fere itex portes, que  
il s'estoient perceü que les  
gardes en avoient prins  
aucune fois en emble et li  
tribun le consentirent, et  
li tribun en pristrent aus-  
sint par le consentement  
des gardes.
394. 27-395. 1 . . . et li  
or<s> que Pirrus, uns  
rois de Grece, perdi au  
siege de Rome. Cel or  
avoit il promis a un conse-  
le de Rome se il li ren-  
doit la vile en traison; cil  
conseles ot non F[r]abri-  
cius; mes Fabricius li res-  
pondi: "Li Romain n'ont  
cure d'or, mes il voelent  
estre seignor de celui qui  
a l'or." Puis s'en foï Pir-  
rus dou siege, et cil de  
Rome orent cel or, puis le  
garderent tant que Cesar  
le trest d'iluec.
396. 14-20    De cels trove  
l'en comment il vindrent a  
escroissement, car li Lace-  
demonien estoient a ba-  
taille contre cels d'Athe-  
nes; por crieme que il ne  
faussissent en cele ost, si  
manderent arriers en lor  
terre que tuit li home ge-  
üssent a tex fames come  
il vodroient et engendras-  
sent pueple a plenté. Si  
firent il, et de cele assem-  
blee naquirent li Drioie;  
une maniere d'Espaignols  
sont.

- iii. 198 *populum* quia ibi dictum est fu-  
*Pholoe men-* isse centauros quod fuit  
*tita bifor-* fictum, uel aliter quia  
*mem* homines illius regionis  
cum primitus uiderunt  
homines equitantes pu-  
tauerunt unum corpus  
esse hominem et equ-  
um; ibi homines reuera  
prius equitasse legun-  
tur.
- iii. 285 *effusis nu-* cum iret cirus ad bel-  
*merato mi-* lum nec milites suos  
*lite telis* numerare posset, pre-  
cepit quod quilibet il-  
lorum sagitam proice-  
ret quibus collectis et  
numeratis etiam milites  
ita numerauit. Postea  
usque ad reditum sagi-  
tis reseruatis cum unus-  
quisque suam accepis-  
set, numeratis illis que  
uacabant tot de suis  
uel in bello uel in iti-  
nere sensit perisse.
- iv. 667 *tum Vari* uarus unus erat roma-  
*sub iure fuit* norum qui preerat illi  
parti quam sibi retinu-  
erant romani more suo,  
qui de qualibet provin-  
cia tributaria aliquam  
partem sibi propriam  
retinentes aliquem de  
suis ciuibus ei prepone-  
bant.
- v. 71 *Hesperio* probatum est a ioue qui  
*tantum* ut terre umbilicum nos-  
*quantum* ceret duas dicitur  
*summotus* aquilas misisse, unam  
*eoo* ab oriente alteram ab  
occidente, que sibi in  
parnaso monte obuian-  
tes et fatigate ibi con-  
sedissent, cognitum est  
eum totius mundi esse  
medium.
397. 1-6 cil de Trace, ou  
li Centor furent jadis (se-  
lonc les fables, ce sont  
demi home et demi cheval;  
mes, selonc la verité, cil de  
la terre monterent primes  
sor cheval, et cil qui ançois  
les virent cuiderent que ce  
fust uns meismes cors de  
l'ome et de<1> cheval,  
si les apelerent en lor  
langage Centors
402. 17-23 l'en parole de  
l'ost que Cyrus li rois de  
Per<se> mena en Ethi-  
ope, ou il ot tant gent que  
l'en ne les pot nonbrer,  
ainz trest chascuns une  
saïete; ces saïetes furent  
nonbrees, et sot <on>  
par ce quanz homes il i  
auoit; et apres la bataille,  
quant chescuns ot sa saïete  
reprise, Cyrus sot bien par  
le remenant quant home  
de sa mesniee estoient peri  
en bataille.
441. 27-31 Varus, uns no-  
bles citeains de Rome, es-  
toit prevoz de Kartage et  
de cele partie d'Aufrique  
que li Romain auoient de-  
tenu<e> a lor oes; car li  
Romain auoient acostumé  
que, de totes les terres que  
il conqueroien<t>, il de-  
tenoient a lor oes une par-  
tie et i metoient prevost  
qui gardoit tote la terre a  
lor oes.
452. 2-6 Li encien disoient  
que cil monz estoit en mi  
le monde et li nombliz de  
la terre. Par ce le voloient  
prover que Jupiter lessa  
.ij. aigles aler, l'une d'ori-  
ent et l'au[s]tre d'occi-  
dent, et vint l'une contre  
l'autre en volant, tant que  
eles s'entrencontrerent  
ilueques en ce mont.

- v. 109 sustulit iras telluris sterilis monstrato fine homines cuiusdam regionis palinurum nauitatem enee uenientem ad portum submerserunt et inde sterilitas maxima illi terre subuenit, sed dato responso ab apolline ut quesitum corpus palinuri sepelirent, eo quesito et sepulto cessauit sterilitas.
- v. 162 tripodas AD TRIPODAS ad antrum ubi tripodas mensa corio phitonis obuoluta sub qua phebas inclinato capite spiritum accipiebat
- v. 385 namque omnis voces, per quas iam tempore tanto mentimur dominis, haec primum repperit aetas. uere multas habuit dignitates quia pluraliter ceperunt eum uocare, non propter pluralitatem personarum sed dignitatum et uni soli dicebant uos et uenite
- vi. 407 diuitias numerare datum est quia ibi inuentum est quod duodecim denarii essent unus solidus et uiginti solidi una libra
- vii. 217 cornus tibi cura sinistri non ad modum ciltere unius ordinauit exercitum suum pompeius, immo ad modum duorum c sic tergo ad tergum posito x, in similitudinem instrumenti ferrei quod est in molendino et uulgariter dicitur enneille ut a quacumque parte ueniret cesar . . . includeretur in duobus c.
452. 22-27 Eneas, quant il ala par mer, ariva en une region dont la gent noierent son marinier au por<t>. Apres devint lor terre brahangne. Apollo lor dist en respons que, se il queroient le cors du noié et il le sepelissoient, la famine cesseroit; et il si firent. Palinurus, ainsi ot il non, fu quis et trovez et sepeliz, et la famine cessa.
454. 4-6 Il i avoit une table d'or a .iij. piez coverte d'un cuir de serpent. Ele mist son chief desoz. Li esperiz se mist tantost dedenz;
461. 30-462, 1 et li disoient: "Bien ailliez! bien viengniez!" por les plusors baillies que il avoit, contre l'usage des Romains qui suelent dire a un seul home bien viengnes tu! bien ai<lle>s tu!
495. 7-8 et apelerent .xij. d<eniers> un solt, et une livre .xx. sols.
511. 9-12 Li chevalier Pompee ne furent pas devisé par eschieles, ainz furent ordené ou champ autresi come uns fers de molin, en ceste forme x, por enclorre la gent Cesar de quel par<t> que il assemblissent a els.

- viii. 814 ter curribus actis contentum multos patriae donasse triumphos. tribus triumphis tantummodo receptis, cum innumeros meruisset, plures condonavit patrie ne nimia fierent expensa reipublice. Triumphus enim nimia indigebat expensa tum in arcu triumphali ubi quidquid in bello fecerat depingebatur tum in solidariis remunerationis tum in pecunia per populum dispergenda tum in ludis parandis tum in lusoribus conducendis.
- ix. 513 Juppiter, ut memorant, sed non aut fulmina vibrans aut similis nostro, sed tortis cornibus, Hammon bacho de india redeunte et exercitu suo sitiente, apparuit ei iupiter in specie arietis qui terram pede percutiens fecit inde aquam exire; ibi factum est templum ioui in quo habet imaginem arietis.
- x. 204 luna suis vicibus Tethyn terraeque miscet secundum sui diminutionem vel incrementum mare crescit vel decrescit . . . ipsa enim frigida est et humida.
- x. 205 frigida Saturno glacies et zona nivalis cessit saturnus est effectivus glaciei et nivis . . . est enim frigidus et siccus
- x. 206 habet ventos incertaque fulmina Mavors mars est causa ventorum quia mars est calidus et siccus
- x. 207 sub Iove ex effectu iouis nunquam habemus intemperiem et nunquam fit turbidus aer quia nisi sit aliqua stella que impediatur, semper est aer clarus
- x. 208 fecunda Venus UENUS est stella calida et humida
571. 8-14 Li Romain ne <li> firent onques que .iij. triumphes, car il lor clama quites les autres par sa franchise, por les granz despe<n>s que il[1] i covenoit fere, si come de l'arc de marbre qui mout costoit, ou l'en entaillloit les fez et les batailles; si come des soldees rendre a<s> chevaliers, de departir avoir par tot le pueple en comun; si comme d'apareillier joeors et joerresses de grant cost.
599. 1-7 quant Bachus, uns princes, amenoit s'ost de vers Inde par ileques en Grece son pais, il orent si grant soif que il moroien<t>; lors vint Jovis, lor diex, si s'aparut a els en forme de mouton et feri la terre de son pié, si que une granz fontaine en sailli, et orent tuit a boivre largement. Por ce le firent en forme de mouton, et li edifierent un temple en icel leu,
629. 31-33 la lune est froide et moiste, et, selonc son croissement et son descroissement, croist la mers et descroit
629. 33-630, 1 Saturnus est froiz, et s'est pleins de glaces et de nois.
630. 1 Marz est cha<u>z et ses, amene venz et foudres
630. 2-3 Jupiter tenprez fet l'air tempré et douz, s'autre felonnesse estoile ne l'enpiesche
630. 3 Venus, qui chaude est et moiste

Verbal parallels are so numerous that I can point out only a few: i. 534: "a gallia uenientis" = 359. 14: "de vers France"; ii. 396: "ERIGIT ibi enim altior est quam alibi" = 372. 8: "et sont ces halpes plus hautes iluec que aillors"; ii. 505: "TURRES que uulgo dicuntur berfrei" = 376. 1: "berfroiz"; ii. 509: "quia plus uidebatur minari quam suplicare" = 376. 21-22: "mielz fesoit samblant de menacier que de proier merci"; iii. 5: "NUNQUAM REDITURA quod tamen ipse nesciebat" = 386. 31-32: "la terre ou il ne devoit ja mes <r>antrer, et si nou cuidoit il pas"; iii. 184: "que non minus ualent in sagitis quam parthi" = 396. 22-23: "qui ne seuent pas mei<n>s d'arc et de saiete que li Turc"; iii. 209: "PACTOLON fluuius est aureas habens harenas" = 397. 7-8: "Pactolon, uns autres fluns ou l'en puet trover les areines d'or"; iii. 220: "PHENICES populi qui literas inuenerunt prius" = 397. 11: "cil de Phenice, ou les letres grex furent avant trovees"; iii. 222: "BIBLOS iuncos" = 397. 12: "es jons"; iii. 237: "id est mel siluestre" = 401. 17: "miel que l'en claim<e> salvage"; iii. 679: "SANGUIS suple et ne sanguis exeat" = 416. 2-3: "que sans n'en poist oissir"; iv. 471: "COHORTEM quingentorum militum" = 435. 28: "car il n' estoient pas plus de .v. cenx en la nef"; v. 254: "ducem sine militibus nichil posse" = 456. 19: "dux sanz chevalerie ne valoit rien"; v. 692: "PRECIPITARE pauperes et desperantes" = 470. 19: "Li povre et li desperé se metent bien en aventure"; v. 769: "PENDEMUS AB UNO id est ego et tu quia equaliter ero secura ut tu, si tu et ego, si nec tu nec ego" = 473. 19-21: "se tu as bien[t], je avrai bien autresi ou que je soie; se tu as mal, je avrai mal."; vi. 159: "CESARIS IN UULTU si me uideret cesar morientem" = 482. 16-17: "se Cesar me veoit morir"; vi. 543: "EXCREMENTA id est ungues" = 497. 21: "les ongles"; vii. 4: "DEFECTUS eclipsim" = 504. 24: "autresi come eclipses"; vii. 175: "VOCES BELLI sunt ferite, occidite" = 510. 14: "L'en oï voiz qui disoient: 'Ferez! ferez! ociez! ociez!'; vii. 342: "PROUECTUS ut et omnes uideret et ab omnibus uideretur" = 516. 10: "si que tuit le veoient et il les veoit toz"; viii. 263: "INSTAR PATRIE quia uos cum uideo patriam meam me uidere puto" = 554. 24-25: "Quant ge vos voi, il m'est vis que je voie mon país"; ix. 160: "APIS ille taurus qui exit de nilo" = 583. 29: "Apym, le tor qui oissi dou Nille"; ix. 840: "nam in ea nuda nichil super sternentes iacebant" = 608. 27-28: "a la nue terre se dormoient tot estendu"; x. 211: "que dicatur etiam canicula" = 630. 10: "et a non Chiene."

When rendering involved passages of the *Pharsalia* the author of the *Faits* is often content with a literal translation of the interpretation he finds in Arnulfus' *Commentary*. This is particularly true of mythological, astronomical or geographical passages.

ii. 691	Iam coeperat ultima Virgo Phoebum laturas ortu praece- dere Chelas	tantummodo restabant due hore noctis . . . tunc erat october	382. 19-20 Il estoit octobres et si pres dou jor que .ij. hores de la nuit estoient seulement a venir
x. 511	at nunc est Pellaeis proxima muris	sed modo factus est pons de pharo usque ad alexandriam urbem	644. 6-7 Or avoit l'en fet un pont qui aloit parmi l'iaue de cele tor jusqu'as murs de la cité d'Alyssandre.
v. 343	Orbis Hiberi horror et Arctoi	hispani et galli	459. 30 Cil de France et cil d'Espagne

The compiler, however, is always aiming at simplicity and clarity, and for that reason often inverts the order of the phrases in a gloss which he otherwise translates almost literally:

iii. 382	fecit magnam fossam inter castra et ciuitatem que omnes aquas reciperet et ita aque non intrabant ciuitatem quia ibant per alium alueum remote a ciuitate et ita abstulit eis aquam dulcem	405. 30-33 Mes il lor toli tot avant la doce iau e l'oissue des chans, car il fist fere granz fossez par mi la valee qui estoit entre l'ost et les murs dusque en la mer, si que point de doce iau ne pooit entrer en la vile.
ii. 545	metellus et camillus nobiles fuerunt et patrie defensores, camillus signa romanis restituit, metellus corintum ciuitatem optimam expugnauit	378. 4-6 con fu Metellus, qui conquist Crete et Corinte, ou con fu Camillus, qui rendi as Romains la digneté de porter ensaignes; et cil dui furent desfensor dou pais.
viii. 479	quando nilus exit de alueo cum eo exeunte exit et quidam taurus qui lingua eorum dicitur apis; hic habet lunam quasi depictam in dextro armo et . . . sacrificatur	559. 34-560, 2 Cist sacri fioit le tor qui avoit peinte en la destre espaule une lunete, qui soloit oissir del Nile, et le clamoient li Egiptien Apin.

We mentioned earlier Arnulfus' custom of giving his reader a choice among various possible interpretations of passages in the *Pharsalia*, without indicating which one seems best to him. The author of the *Faits* chooses one and usually refrains from mentioning any of the others. According to Arnulfus the "famae maioris in amnem" of Lucan i. 400 is either the Rhône or the Seine. In the *Faits* (356. 9) it is the Seine. The phrase "il estoit janviers quant Cesar vint iluec" (423. 18) corresponds to the gloss "decembrem uel ianuarium significat" (iv. 50). Again, instead of the long gloss in which Arnulfus gives many possible reasons why the stars do not shine in the day time (x. 202), the compiler is satisfied with one among the many suggestions.



Sometimes, however, Arnulfus' uncertainty is reflected in the *Faits*, as it is in the phrase "car l'en remuoit les eschargaïtes de l'ost .iiij. foiz ou quatre le nuit" (405. 20-21) which summarises a long discussion in the *Commentary* (v. 507).

The author of the *Faits* is occasionally led astray by wrong interpretations found in Arnulfus' *Commentary*. Thus in the following passages he follows Arnulfus who has misunderstood the text of Lucan:

- |          |  |  |   |
|----------|--|--|---|
| vii. 508 | sparsa per extremos leuis armatura maniplos insequitur saeuasque manus inmittit in hostem. | LEUIS ARMATURA cesar INSEQUITUR pompeianos extensos IN HOSTEM pompeium scilicet et suos. | 520. 6-8 Quant li Cesarrien qui estoient movant et legier, orent les premerains tresperciez et feruz, lors s'entrecommencierent a mesler totes manieres de gent deça et dela. |
| ix. 906  | sic pignora gentis Psyllus habet, si quis tactos non horruit angues,                       | si infanti nocuerit, non creditur esse patris indigene; si non, creditur.                | 611. 22-23 Se li enfes estoit lor, la serpenz ne li feïst ja mal  |

In the first passage Arnulfus, followed by the compiler, wrongly believes that *levis armatura* refers to Caesar's soldiers, while in the second Lucan says that among the Psyllae a father only recognizes as his own the child who is not afraid of snakes, but does not state that snakes do not harm the children of the Psyllae.

We have shown that throughout the third part of his compilation the author of the *Faits des Romains* makes constant use of Arnulfus' *Commentary* on the *Pharsalia*. In many passages, however, he does not follow Arnulfus, and his authority is found in other scholia, many of which have been identified by Fluttre and Sneyders de Vogel in their study of his sources. Sometimes errors might have been avoided by consulting the *Commentary*. This shows that the compiler of the *Faits* had before him either an incomplete copy of Arnulfus' work or, more probably, a commentary based on Arnulfus' which included also numerous other glosses gathered from other sources.

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## MONTESQUIEU AND HUME

By ROGER B. OAKE

### INTRODUCTORY

When in October, 1763, David Hume arrived in Paris as aide to Lord Hertford, newly appointed British ambassador to France, he found himself immediately the idol of the *salons* and the *philosophes*. For the next two years he frequented most circles in Paris, whether social or philosophical, which were worth the interest of a literary man. He became in fact so much the mode as to arouse the jealousy of Horace Walpole and in that worthy's opinion to rival Richardson in vogue.<sup>1</sup> He made himself so beloved by philosophical circles, that although after 1766 he never again visited France, his death was regretted there perhaps by more friends than in Great Britain, and the list of his later correspondents looks like a catalogue of *philosophes*.<sup>2</sup>

Of this later influence of Hume's personality and writings much has already been written, largely because of the interest of *Rousseauistes*,<sup>3</sup> and his relations with the physiocrats have also been studied,<sup>4</sup> though according to Rudolf Metz, not sufficiently.<sup>5</sup> Many problems with respect to Hume's French relationships have, however, not yet been more than mentioned. The stay at Rheims and at La Flèche (1734-37) still has to be investigated if and when any other documents can be found relative to it than his one extant

<sup>1</sup> *Letters of Horace Walpole*, ed. Toynbee (Oxford, 1903-5), VI, 295, 298, 332, cited by John Laird, *Hume's Philosophy of Human Nature* (London, 1932), p. 18 and by Metz, "Les Amitiés françaises de Hume," *RLC*, IX (1929), 683.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., Diderot, D'Alembert, Helvetius, de Mirabeau père, Turgot, Mlle. de Lespinasse, Mme. du Deffand to mention only a few; cf. J. Y. T. Greig, *Letters of David Hume* (Oxford, 1932), *passim*. All Hume letters are quoted from this edition unless otherwise specified. For Hume's works the edition used was Green and Grose, *Treatise* (London, 1878), 2 vols., *Essays* (London, 1912), 2 vols. Footnotes, unless preceded by the word *Treatise*, always refer to the *Essays*.

<sup>3</sup> See Louis J. Courtois, "Le Séjour de Jean-Jacques Rousseau en Angleterre," in *Annales de la Société Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, XVI (Geneva, 1910), 1-133; A. Schinz, "La querelle Rousseau-Hume," *ibid.* (1926), 13-48; Margaret A. Peoples, "La querelle Rousseau-Hume," *ibid.* (1927-28), 1-331; cf. R. Metz, *Bibliographie der Hume-Literatur*, Literarische Berichte auf dem Gebiete der Philosophie, Heft 15/16 (1929), p. 338 ff., sec. 5.

<sup>4</sup> By G. Weulersse, *Le mouvement physiocratique en France de 1756 à 1770* (Paris, 1910) (esp. I, 32 ff.).

<sup>5</sup> R. A. Metz, "Les Amitiés françaises de Hume," *RLC*, IX (1929), 656, n. 3.

letter dated from Rheims and the brief statement in *My Own Life*. Yet this was the period when, according to Hume's own account, he was preparing the *Treatise of Human Nature*, his greatest work.<sup>6</sup> We know the bare outline of his diplomatic journey through Holland, Germany, Austria and Italy in the spring and summer of 1748, but I know of no attempt that has been made to discover possible literary contacts during the trip. There is as yet no completely satisfactory explanation for the immediate popularity of the *Political Discourses* in France on their first being translated in 1754. Though they contain ideas that appealed to philosophical circles it is unlikely that three editions would have been called for in quick succession by a public to which he was unknown.<sup>7</sup> One clue probably lies in the fact that he is known to have corresponded with Montesquieu as early as 1749<sup>8</sup> and that Montesquieu not only received but read the English edition of the *Political Discourses*.<sup>9</sup> A further clue is provided by the evidence that Montesquieu traded both in wine and in ideas with the intellectual leaders in Edinburgh. He sold wine to Lord Elbank,<sup>10</sup> who, with Lord Home of Kames and Hume, formed a sort of court of final appeal in matters literary in Edinburgh from about 1752 onward.<sup>11</sup> Montesquieu's son was elected a member of the "Society for improving Arts and Sciences," in which Hume was active, and Lord Morton, another of Montesquieu's customers, sent him his son's certificate of membership.<sup>12</sup> Hume in fact was known, if not well-known, to *philosophes* circles in France at least six years before the first translation of his work appeared.

There is one obvious reason why Hume should have appealed to the *philosophes*. If they suffered from Anglomania, he suffered equally from Gallomania. (See Metz, *op. cit.*, note 5.) His extensive debt to Bayle has been studied, as well as his probable ac-

<sup>6</sup> See *My Own Life*, available in Greig, *op. cit.*, I, n. 2, and in several editions of the *Works*.

<sup>7</sup> One edition of Mauvillon's translation (Amsterdam, 1754), and two of that by Le Blanc (Amsterdam [Paris], 1754; Dresden, 1755).

<sup>8</sup> Letter of April 10th, 1749.

<sup>9</sup> See letter from Lord Morton, May 25, 1753, *Correspondence de Montesquieu*, ed. Gebelin and Morize (Paris, 1914), II, 461; Montesquieu to Hume, *ibid.*, p. 479. All Montesquieu letters are quoted from this edition unless otherwise specified.

<sup>10</sup> See letter of Lord Morton to Montesquieu, Oct. 29, 1754, and further reference to "Lord Eliban," Montesquieu to Abbé Guasco, March 16, 1752, in *Correspondence de Montesquieu*, II.

<sup>11</sup> According to Ramsay of Ochtertyre, cited by Greig, *op. cit.*, I, 84.

<sup>12</sup> 25th May, 1753, *Correspondence de Montesquieu*, II, 459 ff.

quaintance with the *Dictionnaire* as early as 1732.<sup>13</sup> He is known to have read the Cartesians extensively, in particular Malebranche. And besides his reading of the philosophers he read widely in authors more specifically literary, among many others Corneille, whom he quotes several times in his letters, and always from memory, as is clear from the mistakes he makes.<sup>14</sup> It is perhaps worth noting that Hume clearly made use of Vaugelas, whether as an aid purely to the study of French or to that of style as well is difficult to determine.<sup>15</sup> It is this French background of Hume's thought which makes him of peculiar interest to the student of French literature. For in his figure is epitomized the active interchange of ideas between France and England in the 18th century. French thought is seized upon by the Scot, read and transmuted and passed back to France, there in its turn to be read eagerly by his contemporaries.

It is comparatively easy to draw parallels between the metaphysics of Hume and that of contemporary Frenchmen. Both he and they were to such an extent disciples of Locke, Newton, and Bayle that except where very specific references were made by them in their own writings to those of contemporaries it is usually difficult and dangerous to resolve questions of "influence." The similarity between the thought of Hume and that of Condillac, for example, is obvious. But though the *Essai sur l'origine des connaissances humaines* did not appear until 1746, seven years after Hume's *Treatise*, and the *Traité des Sensations* was published only in 1754, *post hoc* does not necessarily mean *propter hoc*. It may be possible to find parallels with Hume's thought in that of Maupertuis; Ernst Cassirer has stated that the latter must have read the *Treatise* at least as early as 1746; but the evidence seems insufficient.<sup>16</sup> Fortunately for the attempt to study Hume's vogue in

<sup>13</sup> By C. W. Hendel, *Studies in the Philosophy of David Hume* (Princeton, 1925), and M. S. Kuypers, *Studies in the 18th Century Background of Hume's Empiricism* (Minnesota, thesis, 1930). In a letter to his friend, Michael Ramsay, written in March, 1732 (Greig, *op. cit.*, I), Hume says: "I thank you for your trouble about Baile. I hope it is a book you will yourself find diversion and improvement in."

<sup>14</sup> See his letter to John Clephane, Feb. 18, 1751, where he misquotes from *Sertorius*; to the same, March 6, 1753, misquoting *Le Cid*; and also his letter to the Rev. Hugh Blair, April 26, 1764, in praise of Voltaire's edition of Corneille.

<sup>15</sup> The earliest dated reference to Vaugelas by Hume is in a letter to Henry Home, June 13, 1742: "I am obliged to you for Vaugelas."

<sup>16</sup> Ernst Cassirer, *Das Erkenntnisproblem in der Philosophie und Wissenschaft der neueren Zeit*, II, 423 ff., and footnote, p. 424; cf. R. Metz, *Les Amitiés . . .* for contrary opinion and my own detailed treatment of the evidence under "Did Maupertuis read Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature*," *RLC*, XX (1940), 81 ff.

France it would appear that it was his political, economic and historical writing rather than his epistemology which made him popular. It is significant that the first of his works to be published there was the *Political Discourses*<sup>17</sup> and that, while there were three editions of it within one year, the *Treatise* was never translated into French in Hume's lifetime and has never yet been fully translated into that language. The *Philosophical Essays concerning Human Understanding* were translated in 1758-60 and had two further eighteenth-century editions, in 1759-64 and 1788. But it is notable that while in the first edition they occupy volume I, in the second their place is usurped by the *Essays Moral and Political*. A translation of his essays on economic subjects, *Essais sur le commerce, le luxe, l'argent, les impôts, le crédit public, la balance du commerce*, appeared at Amsterdam in 1766 and at Paris and Lyons in 1767, being then added as volume 7 to the 1788 edition of his *Œuvres*. The *History of England* aroused sufficient interest for Voltaire to write a long and complimentary review of it in the *Gazette Littéraire* for May, 1764.<sup>18</sup> But one searches in vain for much sign of interest in Hume's metaphysical ideas. Voltaire never gave them more than passing reference.<sup>19</sup> Maupertuis, enthusiastic as he was for Hume's work, criticized his epistemology severely when he at length became thoroughly acquainted with it.<sup>20</sup> But he would appear to be almost a solitary exception to the rule that Hume's French contemporaries ignored his metaphysics. Perhaps one of the most significant documents that we possess with regard to the relative popularity of Hume's non-philosophical writing is *Le Génie de M. Hume, ou Analyse de ses Ouvrages*, published at London (Paris) in 1770.<sup>21</sup> I have as yet been unable to find any clue as to its proven-

<sup>17</sup> See R. Metz, *Bibliographie der Hume-Literatur* (my note 3) for this and the following details.

<sup>18</sup> See C. Alfred Hunter, *J.-B.-A. Suard, un introducteur de la littérature anglaise en France* (Paris, 1925), p. 159 ff. Hunter appends a list of articles mainly from the *Journal Etranger* and the *Gazette Littéraire*. Of the nine he gives, all except the Voltaire criticism quoted above are translations of articles by Hume, taken from London journals. Four are historical, three are political and one is on economics.

<sup>19</sup> The only two references are in letters to Mme. du Deffand of October 13, 1759 and of June 20, 1764. Hume as philosopher is especially praised in the latter: "J'aime bien autant encore la philosophie de M. Hume que ses ouvrages historiques." (The letters are to be found in Voltaire, *Œuvres Complètes*, Moland, XL, 190; XLIII, 246.)

<sup>20</sup> In the "Examen Philosophique de la Preuve de l'Existence de Dieu employée dans l'Essai de Cosmologie," published in the *Mémoires* of the Berlin Academy for 1756 (p. 406, sec. XXIV).

<sup>21</sup> *Le Génie / De M. Hume, / ou / Analyse / de ses ouvrages, / Dans laquelle on pourra prendre une idée / exacte des Moeurs, des Usages, des Coutumes, des Loix, et du Gouvernement du / Peuple Anglois. / — / A Londres; / et se / trouve / A Paris, / Chez Vincent, Imprimeur-Libraire, / rue S. Severin. / M.DCC.LXX, verso . . . pp. III-VIII avertissement, pp. 472 text, 12<sup>mo</sup>. I am indebted to Prof. Harcourt Brown for the loan of this item.*

nance, but the fact that this typical eighteenth century vulgarization exists is sufficient to show that Hume was widely read. The *Avertissement* begins: "M. Hume est peut-être, de tous les Auteurs modernes, celui qui a écrit avec plus de succès de la *Politique* & de la *Morale*. C'est à l'étude qu'il a faite de l'une & de l'autre, que nous devons l'excellente *Histoire* qu'il nous a donnée de sa nation" (italics mine). It will be noted that there is no mention whatsoever of Hume's philosophic ideas. In a text of 465 pages 225 are taken from the *History*, most of them being "Anecdotes" about famous personages.<sup>22</sup> For the rest the unknown translator or adaptor has culled short passages from here and there in Hume's works and fitted them together to fit his own pattern. It would seem hardly worth while to attempt to trace them all, especially since they are very freely translated.<sup>23</sup> But I have been able to find no trace of Hume's metaphysical thought, whether from *Treatise* or *Enquiry*, in the book. It opens with a passage beginning with the second paragraph of the essay *Of the Dignity or Meanness of Human Nature* and

<sup>22</sup> Pages 220-445 have no passages from any other work. A great number of other sections also show passages from the *History*. In the "Avertissement" it is stated (pp. V, VI) that many historical anecdotes of Hume's have already been included in *Anecdotes Angloises*. This work is advertised at the end of the book (p. 470) under the title: *Anecdotes Angloises, depuis l'établissement de la Monarchie, jusqu'au règne de George III, in-8°, 1769*. The existence of this book is given as a reason for not including more anecdotes in *Le Génie*.

<sup>23</sup> One example of the method used will suffice. In the section *De la Religion*, pp. 22 ff. we find, p. 30, a rendition of the following passage from Hume's *History*, I, 3: "No species of superstition was ever more terrible than that of the Druids. Besides the severe penalties, which it was in the power of the ecclesiastics to inflict in this world, they inculcated the eternal transmigration of souls; and thereby extended their authority as far as the fears of their timorous votaries."

"Nulle espèce de joug sacré ne fut plus terrible que celui des Druides. Indépendamment des peines sévères que la religion autorisoit à infliger dans ce monde, ils inculquoient la doctrine de la transmigration des âmes, et par-là donnoient autant d'étendue à leur autorité qu'en pouvoit avoir la crainte servile de leurs devots."

The next paragraph of the French text jumps to page 34 of Hume's *History*:

"Had this abject superstition produced general peace and tranquility it had made some atonement for the ills attending it; but, besides the usual avidity of men for power and riches, frivolous controversies were engendered by it, which were so much the more fatal as they admitted not, like the others, of any final determination from possession."

"Si la misérable superstition, qui régnoit dans le huitième siècle, avoit du moins produit la paix et la tranquillité générale, ce bon effet auroit compensé les maux qu'elle trainoit à sa suite; mais, ajoutée à l'avidité ordinaire des hommes pour le pouvoir et pour les richesses, elle fit naître des controverses frivoles dans le théologie, d'autant plus fatales, qu'elles ne se terminoient pas comme les autres, en cédant au droit de possession." (The text of Hume's *History of England* used throughout is that of Philadelphia, 1828, 4 vols.)



proceeds, on page 9, under the title *De la Durée du Monde*, to a résumé of that *Of the Populousness of Ancient Nations*. All the extracts, where they are not from the *History*, seem on careful scrutiny to come from the non-philosophical essays. These then would appear to have been, in France as in England, the popular part of Hume's work.<sup>24</sup>

It is because Hume's political, historical and religious views were those that were widely known in France that the evidence of his relationship with Montesquieu becomes of peculiar interest. We have already noted that they were in epistolary contact by 1749. (See Note 8.) Hume's reputation must have been known to the Frenchman before that date, since the occasion of his first letter is to render thanks for a complimentary copy of the *Esprit des Lois*. The connections, business and other, between the Bordelais and Edinburgh, have never been studied and though they would be of great interest they lie beyond the scope of this present paper and the documents available. But Lord Morton is mentioned by Montesquieu as early as 1746,<sup>25</sup> and Montesquieu corresponded with Berwick very early, as well as with his brother-in-law, Bulkeley.<sup>26</sup> Hume quite evidently read the *Esprit des Lois* with great attention, for he wrote an unusually long letter to Montesquieu on the subject, consisting largely of suggested corrections in detail, and the latter valued these very highly.<sup>27</sup> How early Hume was acquainted with the *Lettres Persanes* is not easily determined. But granted his enthusiasm for things French and "philosophical" it would seem hardly credible that he did not read them at least as early as 1734-37, during his first stay in France. Ozell's English translation had appeared in 1730 and was reprinted in 1731, so that they may well have been known to Hume even before he went to France. That he knew them later on there is no doubt, for as we shall see, he quotes them. But though the evidence of direct influence by Montesquieu on Hume's thought is of interest and worth

<sup>24</sup> A work similar in type but not in content to that under discussion appeared in England under the title *The Beauties of Hume and Bolingbroke*. / second edition. / [Portrait engraving of Hume] / London / Printed for G. Kearsy in Fleet Street—1782. Available in the library of Brown University. Information as to the first edition is unavailable to me.

<sup>25</sup> Letter to Guasco, *Correspondence de Montesquieu*, I, 427.

<sup>26</sup> See *Correspondence de Montesquieu*, I, 26 and footnote; I, 47 and footnote. The editors state (47) that Montesquieu knew Berwick, 1716-19.

<sup>27</sup> This letter, printed *Correspondence de Montesquieu*, II, 169 ff., carries the following note, apparently by Montesquieu but not in his writing (footnote, p. 169): "Lettre de Mr. David Hume, qu'il faut copier dans le Spicilège. Elle est pleine de lumière et de bon sens. Il y a quelques remarques qui pourront être utiles pour ma dernière édition de *l'Esprit de lois*, et je puis dire que d'une infinité de papiers qui ont été écrits la-dessus, c'est peut-être celui qui a autant de sens. Je pourrai ôter quelques endroits inutiles."



the careful attention we shall give it in a later section of this essay, the chief value of a comparative study of the two men is to discover, if possible, the relationship between their ideas and methods. It was surely not for nothing that the Abbé le Blanc, an extremely enlightened observer, who knew both men well, could write to Hume: *Vous êtes le seul dans L'Europe qui pourriez remplacer Mr. le Président de Montesquieu*.<sup>28</sup> The purpose of this essay is mainly to attempt an estimate of the affinities and differences between the work of the two authors, the main attention however, being given to those parts of Hume's work where the influence of Montesquieu can definitely be established. In a recent and very important study of Montesquieu's influence on English thought<sup>29</sup> Mr. F. T. H. Fletcher has given Hume more than passing notice, but has naturally not had space to consider their relationship in detail. This essay is an attempt to supplement his valuable contribution.

#### POPULATION

As Professor Chinard has remarked,<sup>30</sup> the question of population became so favorite a topic with 18th century *philosophes*, that, until Malthus, the view that an increase in European population was desirable became almost a *lieu commun*. It is therefore hardly surprising that Montesquieu should have treated the question and that Hume should have found it worth while to criticise the Frenchman's point of view. Montesquieu became interested in the subject early. Letters 112-122 of *Lettres Persanes* are devoted entirely to it, as is Book 23 of *L'Esprit des Lois*. As we know from Hume's correspondence, he turned to the subject in opposition to the work of Montesquieu and of Vossius.<sup>31</sup> On May 25th, 1753, Lord Morton sent to Montesquieu a package of books containing, among others, Hume's *Political Discourses*<sup>32</sup> and Wallace's *Dissertation on*

<sup>28</sup> Printed in extract, J. H. Burton, *Hume's Life and Correspondence* (Edinburgh, 1846), I, 460 ff. The letter is from Paris, undated, but presumably written after Montesquieu's death.

<sup>29</sup> *Montesquieu and English Politics 1750-1800* (London, 1939). See especially pp. 95 ff.

<sup>30</sup> In his edition of Diderot's *Supplément au Voyage de Bougainville* (Paris, 1935), p. 171 and footnote 2.

<sup>31</sup> See letter to John Clephane, April 18th, 1750: "The last thing I took my hand from was a very learned elaborate discourse, concerning the populousness of antiquity; not altogether in opposition to Vossius and Montesquieu, who exaggerate the affair infinitely. . . ." (The Vossius referred to is presumably Isaac, 1618-1689, for some time Canon of Windsor under Charles II and theological opponent of Richard Simon. He published, in 1685, a curious essay, *De antiquae Romae magnitudine*, in which he demonstrated that ancient Rome had fourteen million inhabitants and was twenty times the area of Paris and London combined.)

<sup>32</sup> Evidently the edition of 1752, containing the essay *Of the Populousness of Ancient Nations*.

the *Numbers of Mankind*.<sup>33</sup> On the 26th June, Hume himself wrote to Montesquieu, sent him a further copy of the book, and enclosed some textual corrections.<sup>34</sup>

This essay of Hume's therefore, is one of the best authenticated cases we have of the impact of Montesquieu's thought upon his. We shall see that his remark that his essay was "not altogether in opposition to Montesquieu" was a typical understatement. *Of the Populousness of Ancient Nations* takes up only one part of Montesquieu's argument, as the title itself suggests. But of that part it is a very severe criticism.

Montesquieu's general view is summarized as follows:

De tout ceci il faut conclure que l'Europe est encore aujourd'hui dans le cas d'avoir besoin de lois qui favorisent la propagation de l'espèce humaine: aussi, comme les politiques grecs nous parlent toujours de ce grand nombre de citoyens qui travaillent la république, les politiques d'aujourd'hui ne nous parlent que des moyens propres à l'augmenter.<sup>35</sup>

This view is supported in previous chapters, in which, by quotations from authorities ancient and modern, Montesquieu attempts to establish the fact that the population of Europe has decreased from the time of the Roman Empire, and that even in the medieval period Europe was more thickly populated than in the 18th century. (Book 23, chapters 23-4.)

Hume took up Montesquieu's earlier treatment, that of *Lettres Persanes*, first:

<sup>33</sup> Dr. Robert Wallace's *Dissertation on the Numbers of Mankind in Ancient and Modern Times*, Edinburgh, 1753, when finally published had an appendix criticising Hume's essay. Some details of his connection with Hume may be found in the footnotes to the letters above quoted, all of which are to be found in *Correspondence de Montesquieu*, II. Greig, *op. cit.*, I, also has notes on Wallace appended to the appropriate letters.

<sup>34</sup> "I learn from him" [Wallace], he says, "that you proposed to get his *Dissertation* translated into french and that the translator thought it would be requisite, for the better understanding Mr. Wallace's work, to prefix a translation of mine. If he continues his intention of doing me that honour, I must desire him to make a very few alterations according to the enclosed paper." As we learn from Montesquieu's reply of July 13, 1753, the translator was the Chevalier de Joncourt. The editors of the *Correspondence* state, I, 469 n., that he translated it: "*Sous la direction de Montesquieu*, Londres [Paris] 1754. in-8°." I have seen a copy through the courtesy of Professor Harcourt Brown. It is: *Essai / sur / La Difference / du nombre / Des / Hommes / dans les tems anciens / et modernes, / . . . / Traduit de l'Anglois de M. R. Wallace, / . . . / Par M. de Joncourt, Professeur de / Langues Etrangères à Paris / . . . / A Londres / M.DCC.LIV.*

<sup>35</sup> *L'Esprit des Lois*, Bk. XXIII, chap. 26. References to *L'Esprit des Lois* and to the *Défense de l'Esprit des Lois* are throughout to the text of Laboulaye, Paris, 1875-79.

But is it certain, that antiquity was so much more populous, as is pretended? The extravagancies of VOSSIUS, with regard to this subject, are well known. But an author of much greater genius and discernment has ventured to affirm, that, according to the best compilations which these subjects will admit of, there are not now, on the face of the earth, the fiftieth part of mankind, which existed in the time of Julius Caesar.<sup>36</sup>

However, his criticism of Montesquieu is not based for the most part on the text of *Lettres Persanes*, but on that of *L'Esprit des Lois*—except in two particulars, the theory of degeneration and the theory of the fecundity of Roman slaves, which do not appear in the later work. "Comment la nature a-t-elle pu perdre cette prodigieuse fécondité des premiers tems?" asks Rhedi of Usbek.<sup>37</sup> And his friend replies:

Le Monde, mon cher Rhedi, n'est point incorruptible; les Cieux mêmes ne le sont pas: les astronomes sont des témoins oculaires de leurs changemens, qui sont des effets bien naturels du mouvement universel de la matière (*Lettres Persanes*, No. 113).

Hume begins his essay in the same tone that Usbek began his letter; even his vocabulary is reminiscent of it:<sup>38</sup>

There is very little ground, either from reason or observation, to conclude the world eternal or incorruptible. The continual and rapid motion of matter, the violent revolutions with which every part is agitated, the changes remarked in the heavens, the plain traces as well as the traditions of an universal deluge, or general convulsion of the elements; all these prove strongly the mortality of this fabric of the world, and its passage, by corruption or dissolution, from one state or order to another . . . and it is probable

<sup>36</sup> I, 383. Hume's footnote to this passage reads: "*Lettres Persanes*." See also *L'Esprit des Lois*, Bk. XXIII, chap. 17, 18, 19. Hume is guilty here of too superficial a reading of *Lettres Persanes*. As a matter of fact Montesquieu does not make the statement attributed to him. In letter 112 Rhedi says: "Après un calcul aussi exact qu'il peut l'être dans ces sortes de choses, j'ai trouvé qu'il y a à peine sur la Terre la dixième partie des hommes qui y étoient dans les anciens tems." However, earlier in the same letter, Rhedi had said: "On ne sçauroit trouver dans l'Amérique la cinquantième partie des hommes qui y formoient autrefois de si grands empires." (Italics mine in both cases.) It looks as if our Scot were trusting his memory a little more than it deserved!

<sup>37</sup> *Lettres Persanes*, no. 112. (References to *Lettres Persanes* are throughout to the edition by E. Carcassonne, Paris, 1929, 2 vols.)

<sup>38</sup> I suggest that Hume's essay was written with the work of Montesquieu in very vivid reminiscence, but not physically present. See note 36 for a curious error which would suggest this, and my textual comparison, page 35.

that, in all these variations, man, equally with every animal and vegetable, will partake (I, 381).

Says Usbek-Montesquieu:

Que sçavons-nous si la Terre entière n'a pas des causes generales, lentes et imperceptibles, de lassitude? . . . Je te ferai voir, dans une lettre suivante, qu'indépendamment des causes physiques il y en a de morales qui ont produit cet effet (Letter 113, concluding sentence).

It is curious indeed that in the *Esprit des Lois* Montesquieu dropped the argument that the human power of generation weakens sympathetically with the aging of the world. Hume, however, as we have seen, takes it up; but only to criticize it:

Stature and force of body, length of life, even courage and extent of genius, seem hitherto to have been naturally, in all ages, pretty much the same. . . . And though it were allowed, that the universe, like an animal body, had a natural progress from infancy to old age; yet as it must still be uncertain, whether, at present, it be advancing to its point of perfection, or declining from it, we cannot thence presuppose any decay in human nature. . . . These *general physical* causes ought entirely to be excluded from this question.<sup>39</sup>

In the letter we have quoted Usbek also mentions epidemics and venereal diseases as causes for the depopulation which he takes for granted. Hume reports the argument (I, 382-3) with little further comment, and then launches into his own main topic, the question whether the ancient world was really more densely populated than his own, citing, as we have seen, *Lettres Persanes* and the *Esprit des Lois* by name. (See note 36.) He says: "If I can make it appear, that the conclusion is not so certain as is pretended in favour of antiquity, it is all I aspire to" (I, 383).

We shall refrain from too much further comparison of texts in this chapter, since, as we have already seen, Hume uses Montesquieu's thought and even his very vocabulary so extensively, that we should find it necessary to reproduce almost the whole of his essay were we to show all the apposite passages. We shall therefore reproduce one whole paragraph of Hume's essay, together with passages from Montesquieu which we consider parallel either in thought or vocabulary, and then content ourselves with an account of the criticism Hume offers of Montesquieu.

<sup>39</sup> I, 383. Is it necessary to point out how closely in harmony this is with Hume's views on the influence of climate?

In general we may observe, that the question, with regard to the comparative populousness of ages or kingdoms, implies important consequences, and commonly determines concerning the preference of their whole police, their manners, and the constitution of their government. *For as there is in all men, both male and female, a desire and power of generation, more active than is ever universally exerted, the restraints, which they lie under, must proceed from some difficulties in their situation, which it belongs to a wise legislature carefully to observe and remove. Almost every man who thinks he can maintain a family will have one; and the human species, at this rate of propagation, would more than double every generation. How fast do mankind multiply in every colony and new settlement; where it is an easy matter to provide for a family; and where men are nowise straitened or confined, as in long-established governments? His-*

*tory tells us frequently of plagues which have swept away the third or fourth part of a people:*

Yet in a generation or two, the destruction was not perceived; and the society had again acquired their former number. The lands which were cultivated, the houses built, the commodities raised, the riches acquired, enabled the people, who escaped, immediately to marry, and to rear families, which supplied the place of those who had perished.

Partout où il se trouve une place où deux personnes peuvent vivre commodément, il se fait un mariage. La nature y porte assez, lorsqu'elle n'est point arrêtée par la difficulté de la subsistance. (*L'Esprit des Lois*, Bk. XXIII, cap. 10.)

Les peuples naissants se multiplient et croissent beaucoup. Ce seroit chez eux une grande incommodité de vivre dans le célibat; ce n'en est point une d'avoir beaucoup d'enfants. Le contraire arrive lorsque la nation est formée. (*L'Esprit des Lois*, Bk. XXIII, cap. 10.)

Les histoires sont pleines de ces pestes universelles qui ont tour à tour desolé l'univers. (*Lettres Persanes*, no. 113.)

*And for a like reason, every wise, just and mild government, by rendering the condition of its subjects easy and secure, will always abound most in people, as well as in commodities and riches. A country, indeed, whose climate and soil are fitted for vines, will naturally be more populous than one which produces corn only, and that more populous than one which is only fitted for pasturage. In general*

*warm climates, as the necessities of the inhabitants are there fewer, and vegetation more powerful, are likely to be most populous; But if everything else be*

*equal, it seems natural to expect, that, wherever there are most happiness and virtue, and the wisest institutions, there will also be most people (I, 383-4).*

Hume proposes to compare ancient with modern society from two points of view, the "domestic" and the "political." The domestic economy of the ancients, he says, differs most from that of the moderns, in that the former practiced slavery, "which has been abolished for some centuries throughout the greater part of Europe" (I, 385). He then goes on to a criticism of slavery on humanitarian grounds. This attitude, as is well-known, was shared by Montesquieu. (Cf. *L'Esprit des Lois*, Book XV, chapters 1, 5, & *passim*.) After a digression, he proceeds to the question whether the practice of slavery was favorable to population in Rome or not (I, 387 ff). Hume's view is, that slavery, far from being favorable to population whether in ancient or modern times, is actually extremely pernicious. As to modern states:

To rear a child in LONDON, till he could be serviceable, would cost much dearer, than to buy one of the same age in SCOTLAND or IRELAND, where he had been bred in a cottage, covered with rags, and fed on oatmeal or potatoes.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>40</sup> I, 388. The point of course is, that in a slave economy there would be an even greater drain of population from the provinces.

La douceur du gouvernement contribue merveilleusement à la propagation de l'espèce. (*Lettres Persanes*, 122, cf. for corollary, *L'Esprit des Lois*, Bk. XXIII, cap. 11.)

Les pays de pâturages sont peu peuplés, parce que peu de gens y trouvent de l'occupation; les terres à bled occupent plus d'hommes, et les vignobles infiniment d'avantage. (*L'Esprit des Lois*, Bk. XXIII, cap 14.)

Il y a des pays où la nature a tout fait; le législateur n'y a donc rien à faire. A quoi bon engager, par des lois, à la propagation, lorsque la fécondité du climat donne assez de peuple? (*L'Esprit des Lois*, Bk. XXIII, cap 16.)

Les hommes sont comme les plantes, qui ne croissent jamais heureusement si elles ne sont bien cultivées. (*Lettres Persanes*, no. 123.)

And in the ancient states, for example:

It is expressly remarked by the writers of the ROMAN law, that scarcely any ever purchase slaves with a view of breeding from them (I, 391).

This criticism, based on extensive use of both Greek and Latin authorities, was in this part also of the essay directed against the arguments of *Lettres Persanes*. Whether Montesquieu had reconsidered his position on the subject by 1748 or merely did not think it of sufficient importance to be included in the argument of his later book would seem difficult to decide. The fact remains that the whole of one letter of the earlier book was devoted to a favorable comparison of Roman treatment of slaves with that in Mahometan states, while in the *Esprit des Lois* the only mention of the subject in connection with population is confined to one short phrase.<sup>41</sup>

In letter 114 Usbek has discussed the evils of slavery as practised by Mahometans. In the following letter he proceeds:

Les Romains n'avoient pas moins d'esclaves que nous; . . . Bien loin d'empêcher, par des voyes forcées, la multiplication de ces esclaves, ils la favorisoient au contraire de tout leur pouvoir; ils les associoient le plus qu'ils pouvoient par des espèces de mariages.

Montesquieu-Usbek then criticises, in letter 117, the effects of celibacy, especially of religious celibacy, on population. His criticism is very specific, with mention of monastic institutions and a comparison of Catholic with Protestant states in this regard, much in the favor of the latter. In the *Esprit des Lois* this criticism is no more than suggested; Montesquieu contents himself with an unfavorable comparison of the laws of Constantine with those of Augustus.<sup>42</sup> In this respect again Hume seems to have had the earlier work in mind. For he proceeds with a criticism both of monastic institutions and of Montesquieu's point of comparison:

Our modern convents are, no doubt, bad institutions; But there is reason to suspect, that anciently every great family in Italy, and probably in other parts of the world was a species of convent. And though we have reason to condemn all those popish institutions, as nurseries of superstition, burthensome to the public, and oppressive to the poor prisoners, male as well as female; yet may it be questioned whether they be so destructive to the popu-

<sup>41</sup> See the latter half of Letter 114 and the whole of 115. The only reference in *l'Esprit des Lois* that I can discover is: "Je ne parlerai point ici de l'attention qu'ils eurent à se donner des citoyens . . . et de cette pépinière immense de citoyens qu'ils trouvèrent dans leurs esclaves." (Bk. XXIII, chap. 20.)

<sup>42</sup> See *L'Esprit des Lois*, Bk. XXIII, chap. 21, toward the end.



lousness of a state, as is commonly imagined. Were the land, which belongs to a convent, bestowed on a nobleman, he would spend its revenue on dogs, horses, grooms, footmen, cooks, and housemaids, and his family would not furnish many more citizens than the convent (I, 395).

And he goes on to point to the exposure of infants in antiquity as being a far less humane method of avoiding the burden of dependent daughters than is that of cloistering them. Montesquieu had defended his beloved Romans against this charge as best he could. (*L'Esprit des Lois*, Bk. XXIII, cap. 22.)

Montesquieu had suggested that:

Dans les pays de commerce, où beaucoup de gens n'ont que leur art, l'Etat est souvent obligé de pourvoir aux besoins des vieillards, des malades et des orphelins. (*L'Esprit des Lois*, Bk. XXIII, cap. 29.)

He followed this suggestion with the argument that, though institutions for the poor need careful regulation, they are necessary in a commercial and manufacturing nation to take care of unemployment problems. Hume replied that:

It is computed, that every ninth child born at Paris, is sent to the hospital; though it seems certain, according to the common course of human affairs, that it is not a hundredth child whose parents are altogether incapacitated to rear and educate him. . . . To kill one's own child is shocking to nature and must therefore be somewhat unusual; but to turn over the care of him upon others, is very tempting to the natural indolence of mankind (I, 397).

Hume's conclusion (I, 397) to this part of his essay is, in opposition to Montesquieu, that on the whole the customs of modern civilization are somewhat superior in their effect upon population, as compared with those of the ancients. With regard to the effects of political institutions Hume at first appears to accept Montesquieu's position. The latter says, for example:

L'Italie, la Sicile, l'Asie Mineure, l'Espagne, la Gaule, la Germanie, étoient à peu près comme la Grèce, pleines de petits peuples, et regorgeoient d'habitants: on n'y avoit pas besoin de lois pour en augmenter le nombre. (*L'Esprit des Lois*, Bk. XXIII, cap. 18.)

Toutes ces petites républiques furent englouties dans une grande, et l'on vit insensiblement l'univers se dépeupler; il n'y a qu'à voir ce qu'étoient l'Italie et la Grèce avant et après les victoires des Romains. (*Ibid.*, cap. 19.)

Hume's expression is not much more than a paraphrase of Montesquieu's:



Before the encrease of the ROMAN power, or rather till its full establishment, almost all the nations, which are the scene of ancient history, were divided into small territories or petty commonwealths, where of course a great equality of fortune prevailed, and the center of the government was always very near its frontiers.

This was the situation of affairs not only in GREECE and ITALY, but also in SPAIN, GAUL, GERMANY, AFRIC, and a great part of the LESSER ASIA: And it must be owned, that no institution could be more favourable to the propagation of mankind (I, 397).

But having accepted Montesquieu's general proposition as to probabilities; having accepted the reasoning that the comparative liberty of a republic is more conducive to propagation than the "slavery" of a despotism,<sup>43</sup> whether in ancient or in modern times, Hume proceeds to a dispassionate analysis of the facts available. He finds (I, 400-409) that there was continuous warfare, both international and internecine, in the ancient world, and that the warfare was much more destructive than in modern times. Ancient republics were noted for political instability (I, 409-10). Commerce and industry, even agriculture, were decidedly inferior in ancient times as compared with modern (I, 401-413). "All the preceding reasoning, however," says Hume, "is merely of probabilities":

But there is no reasoning, it may be said, against matter of fact. If it appear that the world was then more populous than at present, we may be assured that our conjectures are false, and that we have overlooked some material circumstance in the comparison (I, 413).

There follows the famous examination of ancient authorities for which Hume's essay is justly renowned. Here, even more clearly than in his historical writing, can be found indicated the modern historian's methods of research. We cannot do it justice here and in any case most of it does not concern Montesquieu directly, since the latter had neglected most of the authorities Hume uses. We shall confine ourselves to the typical and illustrative passage which was inspired immediately by the French text.

In harmony with his general theory that small republics, because offering more liberty of life and property than despotisms, are more favourable to propagation, Montesquieu had stated that with the advent of the Roman Empire and its absorption of smaller states, the depopulation of the world began. (*L'Esprit des Lois*, Bk. XXIII, cap. 19.) This statement was based almost entirely on Plu-

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Montesquieu, *Lettres Persanes*, no. 122, *L'Esprit des Lois*, Bk. XXIII, chap. 19, 24; Hume, I, 399.

tarch's dissertation, *On the Cessation of Oracles*.<sup>44</sup> Hume takes the passage quoted by the Frenchman, finds that it is full of internal inconsistencies, that it does not harmonise with the statements of authorities such as Strabo and Polybius. He points out (I, 442, n. 2) that the particular work of Plutarch's which is cited by Montesquieu is perhaps the least trustworthy document the ancient writer left (I, 442, n. 2). And he ends by showing that Diodorus Siculus made a like absurd argument, because he, like Montesquieu, was convinced of the "Golden Age" theory.

*Of the Populousness of Ancient Nations* offers us Hume as historian and critic of Montesquieu perhaps at his best and most typical. There can be no doubt that Montesquieu's views on population were founded on very poor and inadequate evidence.<sup>45</sup> As Hume points out:

... the main combat, where we compare facts, cannot be rendered much more decisive. The facts, delivered by ancient authors, are either so uncertain or so imperfect as to afford us nothing positive in this matter. How indeed could it be otherwise? The very facts which we must oppose to them, in computing the populousness of modern states, are far from being either certain or complete (I, 413-4).

Here is the spirit of Newton and Bayle at work with a vengeance! Hume is employing the historical method in which he rivaled Voltaire,<sup>46</sup> and which made him justly famous as chronologically the first modern English historian. On the other hand, Montesquieu

<sup>44</sup> This section of Plutarch's *Morals* is a dialogue between seven imaginary characters, intended as a sceptical treatment of the subject. The section on depopulation (8), is merely an attempt to offer a rational explanation for the oracles' cessation. It is certainly not a trustworthy historical document.

<sup>45</sup> Voltaire's criticism of Montesquieu was based on much the same grounds as Hume's. In chapter 24 of Book 23, Montesquieu quotes Puffendorf's *History of the Universe*, chap. 5, in support of his statement that the population of France has decreased since Charles IX. He states Puffendorf to have said the population of France at that time was twenty millions. Voltaire writes (*A.B.C.*): "Puffendorf va même jusqu'à vingt-neuf millions: il parlait fort au hasard. On n'avait jamais fait en France de dénombrement; on était trop ignorant alors pour soupçonner seulement qu'on pût deviner le nombre des habitants par celui des naissances et des morts. La France . . . aujourd'hui . . . ne contient qu'environ vingt millions d'âmes tout au plus, par le dénombrement des feux assez exactement donné en 1751." (Moland, XXVII, 315.)

<sup>46</sup> When Hume's *History* appeared statements were made that he had imitated Voltaire, and he wrote somewhat peevishly to Le Blanc (Nov. 5th, 1755), complaining that he was no imitator and that his *History* was planned and composed before the *Siècle de Louis XIV* appeared. He should probably be given the benefit of the doubt.

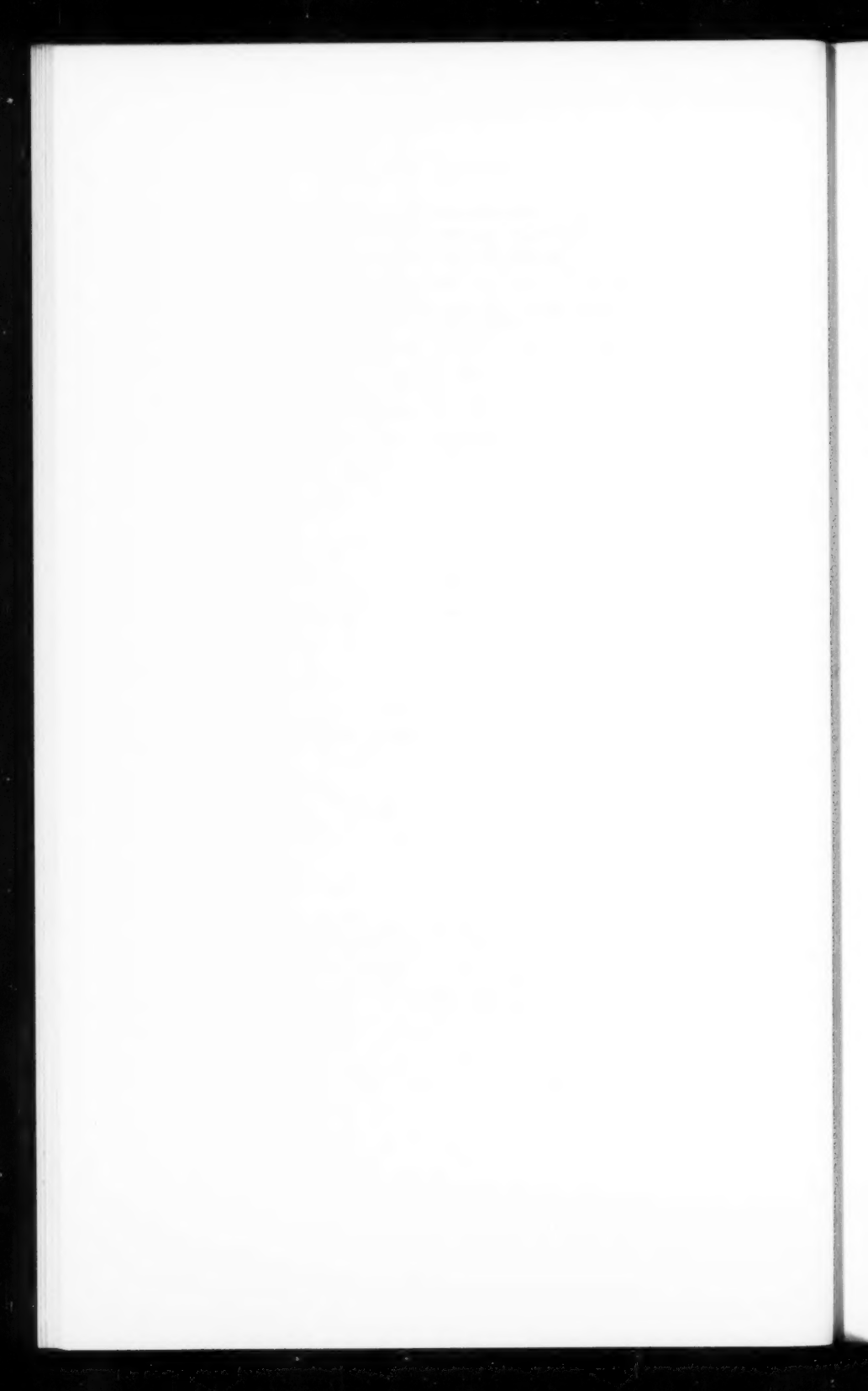
appears, as Voltaire quite justly remarked,<sup>47</sup> as no great scholar, but as the man who furnished the inspiration, even if by opposition, to an inestimable amount of the "philosophical" writing of the younger generation.<sup>48</sup>

(Mr. Oake's article will be concluded in the June issue.)

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<sup>47</sup> "Montesquieu a presque toujours tort avec les savants, parce qu'il ne l'était pas; mais il a toujours raison contre les fanatiques et contre les promoteurs de l'esclavage; l'Europe lui en doit d'éternels remerciements" (*Dictionnaire Philosophique*, article "Lois"; Moland, XX, 14).

<sup>48</sup> Prof. E. Carcassonne, in his *Montesquieu et le problème de la constitution française au 18<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1927, has delivered an excellent estimate of his popularity in the second half of the century, but even he finds it difficult to be very definite. As he says in chapter 3, perhaps the most useful, and most difficult subject he treats, *L'Esprit des Lois et la Critique*, . . . "Une impression décourageante résulte de ces nombreux écrits, pièces d'apparat ou de polémique, qui se succèdent de 1749 à 1789. S'ils attestent par leur quantité l'influence de Montesquieu, ils nous apprennent mieux encore la difficulté de la définir . . . Le vrai commentaire historique de l'ouvrage de Montesquieu n'est pas écrit dans les satires ni dans les éloges; la substance en est dispersée à travers toute la littérature du temps." (Pp. 176-7; italics mine.)



## E. T. A. HOFFMANN AS A LYRIC WRITER

By ALLEN W. PORTERFIELD

In the Harich edition<sup>1</sup> of Hoffmann's works there is a total of 5,760 pages written by Hoffmann himself. This excludes the "Nachwort" at the end of each of the fifteen volumes, written by the editor. Scattered throughout these volumes is a mass of hitherto ignored lyric poetry. The purpose of this paper is to attempt to determine why Hoffmann inserted these poems, that is, on what epic basis, and to move others, if possible, to investigate the remote origin and broad significance of this usage as practiced by the Romantics. To toss it off as a mere concession to "Gattungsmischerei" solves precisely nothing; nor would the assertion that it was done about as an orator touches up an emotional paragraph with a bit of verse, or as the band plays the "Star Spangled Banner" at the close of a day of prosaic maneuvering around an army post.

The Hoffmann problem seems simple: Here are the poems, frequent and not always without merit, sandwiched in by a man known wholly as a prose narrator. Yet it has been impossible to uncover serious or sustained comment regarding them, either by Hoffmann himself or by his interpreters. Ellinger's<sup>2</sup> is the standard, even if superseded work, yet its sole reference to Hoffmann's verse is the statement that when he entered the University of Königsberg—he was then sixteen—he had but one intimate friend, Theodor von Hippel, and the two agreed, "nur in Versen mit einander zu sprechen." Egli's<sup>3</sup> is a suggestive though limited study, yet for him Hoffmann the lyric poet does not seem to exist. Harich's exegetical essays are admirable, but one reads them in vain if the purpose is to see how a Hoffmann specialist felt about Hoffmann the lyric writer. The same is true of the introductions to the other editions.

Let us make then a chronological<sup>4</sup> study of Hoffmann's lyrics with the following restrictions: No attention will be paid to the interspersed lyrics in foreign languages, very little to the three "Sing-

<sup>1</sup> E. T. A. Hoffmann: *Dichtung und Schriften, sowie Briefe und Tagebücher. Gesamtausgabe in fünfzehn Bänden. Herausgegeben und mit Nachworten versehen von Walther Harich* (Weimar, 1924). This edition is used.

<sup>2</sup> E. T. A. Hoffmann: *Sein Leben und seine Werke*. By Georg Ellinger (Hamburg, 1924). Pp. 230. See page 12.

<sup>3</sup> E. T. A. Hoffmann: *Ewigkeit und Endlichkeit in seinem Werk*. By Gustav Egli (Zürich, 1927). Pp. 165. More striking is Kurt Willimczik's *E. T. A. Hoffmann: Die drei Reiche seiner Gestaltenwelt* (Berlin, 1939). Pp. 423. There is not a word in it about the inserted poems, though some are quoted.

<sup>4</sup> As to the dates of Hoffmann's works, see Harich's edition, XV, v-xi.

spiele," not much to the twenty-two Bamberg "Xenien," and virtually none to his metrics and prosody. Space makes generous citations impossible.

Hoffmann wrote his fifteen volumes in an unusually short while. He was only forty-six when he died and nearly thirty-six when he began writing the works to be considered. His profession was law, though it plays a negligible rôle in his fiction. His gifts were varied, his weaknesses many, his end pathetic. Yet if his poems were all lifted from their original setting, supplied with titles, and published separately, they would make a chrestomathy of over one hundred entries totalling about two thousand lines.

Hoffmann's oldest available poem, "Masquerade," was written in December, 1794 (XIV, 8-10). It consists of fifty-six lines that rhyme in couplets or by some other scheme or not at all. The hero goes to the ball dressed as a Spaniard:

Hinweg mit allem, was uns germanisiert,  
Was uns vor bübischen Lauschern geniert.

The punctuation and spelling are bad. We have "Zoepfchen" and "Zöpfchen," "Zitter" and "Zither." Impure rhymes such as Trompeten-Flöten abound. Of lyric smoothness there is hardly a trace. But the writer was only eighteen at the time and however conventional his language, the theme of the Doppelgänger is here; and it remained with Hoffmann throughout the rest of his life, as did the references to architecture, costumes, music, and the Romance peoples.

Hoffmann showed better judgment, however, on December 19, 1795, in his admiration of the poem<sup>8</sup> of ten lines with the thought:

Wer grübe sich nicht selbst ein Grab  
Und würfe froh des Lebens Bürd hinab  
Wenn süßer Wahn nicht wäre!

Also the quintet of thirty-four lines written in April, 1807, reveals a lyric potentiality that bears out the contention of Hoffmann scholars: He found it hard to decide on a calling. He made a humble beginning by writing poems.

It was indeed quite humble. In those of his works written between 1807 and 1812 there is virtually no lyric poetry, despite their obvious or titular connection with music. In the thirteen sections that make up the *Kreisleriana* there is but one interwoven poem, and it has to do with this country. In *Nachrichten von einem gebildeten jungen Mann*, Milo, the cultured monkey, writes to his

<sup>8</sup> In XIV, 42. Hoffmann began, in a way, with this poem the custom of commenting on it at length in the adjacent prose.

friend Pipi in North America a long epistle on such affections as are not easily smothered in culture and closes with this unoriginal assurance:

Zweifle an der Sonne Klarheit,  
Zweifle an der Sterne Licht,  
Zweifl' ob lügen kann die Wahrheit,  
Nur an meiner Liebe nicht!

Hoffmann was thirty-seven when he wrote this. Shelley was twenty-seven when he wrote *The Cenci*, the first edition of which now sells for two thousand dollars.

Hardly had he completed his tale of Milo the monkey when Hoffmann took up, from Cervantes, Berganza the dog. *Nachrichten von den neuesten Schicksalen des Hundes Berganza* was finished in March, 1813. Harich has set forth the details of its connection with Julia Marc and her family (XIII). The witch's song, declaimed by Berganza, makes impressive use of dark vowels. The two sonnets are also spoken by Berganza. When taken to task for using them, he replies that before the poets were willing to study the verse forms of the Romance peoples, anyone could become a "poet" but only with the merit of the painter who had never learned to draw, or of the musician who had never studied counterpoint. Now, he asserts, the real poet adapts his metrical form to the subject treated and either lifts up a humble one through an aristocratic verse form, or adds glory to an exalted one by using such metrical schemes as were long ago the joy of the immortals.

This is sound, even if familiar, theory. Yet the next two years, 1814-1815, were infertile so far as verses are concerned. He either wrote or had published eight works, one of which, *Der goldene Topf*, is among his best, but it is verseless. It was his Leipzig-Dresden-Berlin period during which his diary carries the refrain *Quod deus bene vertat*, his friends increased in number without showing any marked signs of uncolorable loyalty, his pecuniary status was miserable and, as to potential publishers, he was still regarded as either a lawyer or a musician.

But he entered Prussian service, took up his abode (September 27, 1814) in Berlin, composed his *Undine* (1814), and finished his *Dichter und Komponist* (1813) which, though verseless, left no doubt of his serious regard for the lyric writer, however much his critics may have balked at his praise of Gozzi as the creator of themes for operas, or been unwilling to accept his thesis that Tieck's poetry would surely move the gifted to the writing of romantic music.

Of his various works that center around 1816, two are again among his best known: *Die Elixire des Teufels*, which is verseless, and *Nußknacker und Mausekönig*, which in ten different places interpolates "poems" but prints them as though they were prose. For example:<sup>6</sup> "... schöne Stadt, wer dich nicht gesehen hat, mag er auch viel gereist sein nach London, Paris and Peterwardein, ist ihm das Herz doch nicht aufgegangen, muß er doch stets nach dir verlangen—nach dir, o Nürnberg, schöne Stadt, die schöne Häuser mit Fenstern hat" (VII, 45).

There is no reason to believe that Hoffmann was so naturally gifted as a lyric writer that he could hardly refrain from writing verses. The real fact is he wrote so hurriedly that he lacked the time necessary to make finished poems out of rhymed sentences.

Among the seven works that belong to 1817, there is *Doge und Dogaressa*, which has never enjoyed the popularity it deserves. In it Hoffmann translates scattered Italian verses, always increasing the number of words but rarely accompanying them with comment in prose. *Der Kampf der Sänger* contains no lyrics, but a great deal of criticism—usually without any particular value—of the Middle High German poets, Wolfram von Eschenbach, Walter von der Vogelweide, and their contemporaries. Here was Hoffmann's chance to posit his theory of lyric writing, but he did not do it.

In *Meister Martin der Kufner* there are six poems<sup>7</sup> totaling ninety-one lines. They poetize family piety, the glories of old Nürnberg, the boon of honest workmanship, or the blessings of clean living. They are sound and serious though not notably imaginative.

Of the seven works from 1818 on, *Seltame Leiden* and *Serapions-Brüder* contain criticism, poetic translations, lyric adaptations, and original verses. The former contains (XIII, 218-219) a translation, Hoffmann generally used Schlegel's, of twenty-five lines of the Prologue, spoken by the Chorus, to Shakespeare's *Henry V*. The verses were included to show that in Shakespeare's time the spectator had to imagine the scenery, "denn euer Sinn muß unsere Könige schmücken." There are also translations of ten different passages from Gozzi's *Amore delle tre melarance*, introduced,

<sup>6</sup> Hoffmann does the same thing in other works, as in *Kater Murr* (V, 227): "Und dabei zerschnitt der herbe Liebesschmerz mein nur zu leicht verwundbar Herz! Und ich sprach: Lenk' auf mich die holden Blicke jungfräulicher Morgenschein, und als Braut und Bräut'gam wandeln Murr und Miesmies selig heim." Hoffmann did not even take the trouble to print such words in a different type, or to make a separate paragraph out of them; but he was in general an abominable paragrapher.

<sup>7</sup> In his *Erläuterungen zu E. T. A. Hoffmanns Meister Martin der Kufner und seine Gesellen*, Vol. 229, pages 1-39, Paul Sommer quotes two of the poems by way of showing their strategic relation to the general plot. The beginning lines are "O Nürnberg, du edler Fleck," and "Mägdlein zart mit roten Wangen."



says Hoffmann, in order to give an idea of the possibilities of the dramatic fairy-tale. The Serapion verses are ironically humorous. The one entitled "Lebenstiefe"—Hoffmann did not otherwise prefix titles—is representative:

Der kleine Junker Matz  
Hatt' einen bunten Spatz,  
Den ließ er gestern fliegen,  
Konnt' ihn nicht wieder kriegen.  
Jetzt hat der Junker Matz  
Nicht mehr den bunten Spatz!

Of the eight works that group around 1819, three have interspersed lyrics. *Die Brautwahl* has Albertine quote one of Fouqué's poems (VII, 176), merely because she felt poetic, whereupon Edmund seized Albertine's hand, pressed it to his bosom, and replied:

Säng' ich es nach, was leise  
Solch stilles Leben spricht,  
So schien aus meiner Weise  
Das ew'ge Liebeslicht.

The entire situation, with its subsequent quotations from *As You Like It*, resembles romantic irony without revealing any marked lyric inspiration. The three other lyrics are connected with the actual choice of the betrothed, in which, after the fashion of the casket scene in the *Merchant of Venice*, Hoffmann shows more ability to imitate Shakespeare's action than to rival him as a poet. The last of these efforts however is at least pointed:

Ja du trafst es, lies dein Glück  
In der Schönsten Liebesblick.  
Was da war, kommt nie zurück,  
So will's irdisches Geschick.  
Was dein Traum dir schaffen muß,  
Lehr dich der Geliebten Kuß.

The relation of this to Bassanio's lines on opening the leaden casket is obvious, but the verses are Hoffmannesque.

In *Der Zusammenhang der Dinge* (XI) there are four lyrics. Ludwig has offended Viktorine in a way that makes the future look dark indeed. Euchar asks him to explain the situation. He takes a deep sigh, groans, and recites "mit gehörigem Pathos," four lines that have the closest connection with the case. They are interspersed just as though they were Hoffmann's own. In reality they are lines 3486-3489 of Schiller's *Wallensteins Tod*. The same lines are referred to and imperfectly quoted in *Der Magnetiseur* (IX, 3).

Here Schiller is indirectly given credit. Von Maaßen makes the assertion,<sup>8</sup> in connection with the complete but unidentified quotation, "Dies Zitat wird Hoffmann aus Kluge S. 369 im Gedächtnis geblieben sein." Hoffmann's memory may, however, have been much better than that of his readers.

After this the Spaniard quotes a poem of twelve lines in Spanish, whereupon he is asked for a German translation. Hoffmann complies but uses the translation of S. H. Friedländer. Also the poet of the narrative reads, "mit dem süßesten Ton, dessen er mächtig," two bits of three lines each, when he is suddenly interrupted by a loud peal of thunder. With this over he reads three more verses, begins to cough, and cannot continue. But none of this verse can be taken with seriousness. It is not of the high grade that characterized so much verse interspersed in prose works by the other Romantics. The story leads off with a reference to Tieck's *Fortunatus*, returns again and again to Goethe's *Mignon*, and alludes to his *Wahlverwandschaften*.

In *Kater Murr* we have the work that does the most toward memorializing the telling factors in Hoffmann's own life. Franz Leppmann writes:<sup>9</sup> "Das einzige literarhistorisch Wichtige an dem Buche ist . . . die Aufdeckung des merkwürdigen Zusammentreffens der Hoffmannschen Schöpfung mit den naturphilosophischen Bestrebungen." This is a suggestive over-statement; for Hoffmann's use of animals has admittedly received less attention than it merits. But the really striking fact emphasized by *Murr* is the frequency of interspersed lyrics so soon as Hoffmann undertakes to poetize animals. In *Murr* there are sixteen lyrics that total 201 lines. The work was to a degree motivated by Tieck's *Der gestiefelte Kater*, but the poems are Hoffmann's own.

The first poem in *Murr* is a sonnet (V, 96). It is read from manuscript by the professor and, as is quite usual, Hoffmann describes the tone in which he read it. He obviously felt that poetry needs at all times an appropriate setting. Entitled *Sehnsucht nach dem Höheren*, it expresses precisely this idea. The professor then praises it highly, despite the fact "daß es zu den ersten gehört, die ich überhaupt verfertigt habe." Chronologically this needs amendment. The professor then reads a "gloss" that has more poetic value, and that poetizes the idea contained in the two lines,

<sup>8</sup> *Sämtliche Werke*, I, 492. It is much to be regretted that this edition has never been completed, for its notes are excellent and badly needed. Harich apparently left notes out of his otherwise good edition with the thought that such details would be attended to in his monumental biography, but they were not.

<sup>9</sup> *Kater Murr und seine Sippe* (München, 1908). Page 25.

Liebe kommt uns rasch entgegen,  
Aufgesucht will Freundschaft sein.

There follows a somewhat heated, but supposedly humorous, discussion as to whether Murr himself wrote these and other verses. We have then two more glosses. They are melodious but they give a clearer idea of Hoffmann's irony than of his grasp of, or even interest in, such "naturphilosophische Bestrebungen" as were then being made. Hoffmann, like Clemens Brentano, was not a scholarly poet.

We pass over seventy-one pages and come to the poem of nine lines—Heine might have written it in mock imitation of Hölderlin—which is again introduced with a reference to "Stimmen"; but after a series of questions, all addressed to a disturbed world, it closes precipitately with the assurance, "Die Hoffnung lebt—ich rieche Braten." When Egli wrote his metaphysical study of Hoffmann, he was justified in devoting his attention, in the chapter on *Klein Zaches* and *Kater Murr*, to Hoffmann's "Ringens um den Humor." Tom-cats do not write poetry, but an ascription of the latter to the former, or the juxtaposition of the two, may have a humorous effect.

With a consistency that irks, Hoffmann introduces the next poem with the words: "Ich stimmte endlich ein Liedlein an im wehmütigsten Ton, ungefähr folgendermaßen." The poem, seventeen lines long, reminds us of Tieck's forest songs and Eichendorff's nature lyrics. It has worth, but is nearly drowned in romantic moonshine and propagandistic humor. The next poem, divided into six strophes of four lines each, is genuine cat poetry. The refrain is *Ecce quam bonum*, a song which Murr-Hoffmann remarks is thought by some to have been written by Haendel, where others contend that Hamlet sang it when a freshman at Wittenberg. As so frequently happens, it is followed by a mock-serious discussion of poetry in general and the mood that is necessary to create it.

The next poem of eight strophes of eight lines each is preceded by a wordy account of the splendid effect the writing of verses has on a weary, worried soul. It is followed by the assurance that many other poems of the same sort were written at the same time and would be reproduced at this place, had not the author the solemn intention of bringing them all out simultaneously, under the general caption, "Was ich gebar in Stunden der Begeisterung." This was never done; Hoffmann's poems are all connected with his prose. This one has a goodly measure of smoothness but is excessively feline and consistently without ideas.

The love poem that follows after a long interval of prose is preceded and succeeded in the same fashion as the others: We are told the tone in which it was spoken, and assured that it had its effect. One stanza reads:

Nicht erfaßt der bleiche Tod,  
Die im Herzen Liebe tragen;  
Dem glänzt noch das Abendrot,  
Der am Morgen wollt' verzagen.  
Bald kann dir die Stunde schlagen,  
Die entreißt dich aller Not;  
Zu vollbringen magst du wagen,  
Was die ew'ge Macht gebot.

These lines found abundant application in Hoffmann's own life, but there is such an array of final dark vowels that one feels the poem should be stood up on its right side if it is neither to sag nor waver. After this Hoffmann quotes a stanza of eight lines of Italian poetry and follows it up with a translation into German (V, 476-477). It is by no means worthless as poetry though the contextual characters are unwilling to admit that it has even "ein Fünkchen gesunden Menschenverstand."

Of the four works we associate with 1820, there are no lyrics in *Die Irrungen* and *Die Marquise de la Pivardière*. In *Die Geheimnisse* we have the poem written in terza rima, eleven tercets in all, which, the text states, is a translation from the Italian. It is a beautiful creation, rhythmical, sonorous, and thoughtful. The second tercet gives an idea of the whole:

Klar wird der höh'ren Mächte dunkles Walten,  
Entstrahlt's der Dichtung hellem Zauberspiegel,  
In Farb' und Form muß alles sich gestalten.

The introduction of the poem is motivated in accordance with the established routine: The poet found a letter-case in the Tiergarten near the statue of Apollo. He opened it and found the poem, obviously written by a woman. On reading it several times, with the closest of attention, he concludes that it was meant for him, though it contains no address or other mark of identification. The story itself deals with the fight of the Greeks for independence; the poem symbolizes Hoffmann's own struggles against the hard realities of life, and his attempted escape through art.

The lyric passages in *Prinzessin Brambilla* are in keeping with this artistically conceived work; there is but one weakness about them—the motivation. As they stand, interwoven between prose paragraphs, they give the impression of having been written with-

out a clear idea as to the use that was to be made of them. The first one, spoken by the Magus, "mit feierlicher Stimme" (III, 376), savors of Novalis, with a quaint touch of Heine. It contains, in mystic form, directions for the acquiring of immortality, but the last four lines read as follows:

Zum bessern Hören spitzet dann die Ohren!  
 Zum bessern Schauen nehmt die Brill' vor Augen,  
 Wollt ihr Minister sein, was rechtes taugen!  
 Doch, bleibt ihr Esel, seid ihr rein verloren.

The next poem, of thirty lines, is spoken by the chorus of women as they circle about the Magus. The poem visualizes the search for the country, the city, the world, the ego, the glorified queen, the age of reconciliation; and each is found and all are found, once "Zerrissen sind des Dämons Kettenbände." In short, one has to find his own ego and his own non-ego before he can come to terms with the contradictions of existence. There is a measure of mummery in the poem and, as is so frequently the case, the rhymes are over-emphasized, but even so it cannot be listed as a mere trifle.

The Magus also reads the long poem in terza rimas that concerns the seeming acquisition of earthly ecstasy:

Ja aus der Tiefe steigen sel'ge Wonnen  
 Und fliegen leuchtend in die Himmelsräume,  
 Erschaut die Königin, die uns gewonnen!

The verses throughout the entire story have lyric verve and human interest, but the incessant transition from the real to the irrational,<sup>10</sup> from the mundane to the mystic, leaves one in doubt at times as to the author's poetic sincerity: Were his men and women really so unhappy here? And would they be so happy there?

Of the five works that center around 1821, there are interspersed lyrics in but two. The third chapter of *Die Doppelgänger* opens with a poem of five stanzas of five lines each, written by the painter Georg Haberland and sung by his friend, the copper-engraver Berthold. The poem depicts the disappointments of this distressed world, with its intrigues, some of them from the court, others from private or personal life. The last stanza symbolizes the futility of human hopes as well as any other:

<sup>10</sup> For a discussion of the question, see *Realismus und Transzendenz in der Romantik, insbesondere bei E. T. A. Hoffmann*, by Hilde Cohen (Heidelberg, 1933).

Doch in Nacht ist bald verschwunden  
 Der Geliebten Lichtgestalt!  
 Kann ich nimmermehr gesunden?  
 Freundes Trost, Balsam den Wunden,  
 Ist auch der für mich verhallt?

That the poem is placed at the opening<sup>11</sup> of the chapter is not enough to give it unique importance; but it does have clarity, and is devoid of any reference to, or connection with, the animals of this world.

In *Die Königsbraut* there are four lyric interpolations. Aman-dus von Nebelstern is so profoundly in love with his Ännchen that he attempts to express his love in a letter (VII, 250). But he asks this question, and answers it in the negative: "Doch geziemt begeis-terten Lippen die nüchterne Prosa?" He then continues: "Hör, o höre, wie ich nur sonettisch zu lieben, von meiner Liebe zu sprechen vermag." The final lines give an adequate idea of the exaggerated intensity of his affection:

Es blüht die Hyazinth' der nahen Landung;  
 Das treue Herz keimt auf, will es verbluten,  
 Und Herzensblut ist selbst die schönst' der Wurzeln.

This is love in excess, but the motivation, for a story of this type, is beyond reproach. Ännchen replies with a poem of her own, eight lines in all. By way of introduction she comments, in prose, on her lover's ability to rhyme; but she remarks that she can rhyme too, though she never took any lessons. Her creation follows (VII, 255). It is jejune, but droll. The remaining poems were seemingly inserted as so many lyric cartoons.

There remain, apart from the "Xenien" and "Singspiele," eleven works, seven of which contain no poems. There is to be sure a nursery rhyme, "Schlaf, mein Kindchen, schlaf," in *Meister Floh*, but this fairy-tale contains so many themes—anti-Semitism, science, Tristan and Isolde motivation, doubles, Dutch scholarship—that the addition of verses would have caused it to overflow. In *Die Genesung* there is a poem of ten lines, a translation from Calderon, beginning "In der grünen Farbe glänzen," and highly praised by Hoffmann who says that "ein fein empfindender Freund" has set it to music. But this is unoriginal;<sup>12</sup> for original lyrics we have to turn to *Der Feind*.

<sup>11</sup> Hoffmann criticized Cramer for placing a poem at the head of the various chapters of his novel, but it was the wretchedness of the poems themselves, not the custom, that he found objectionable. See XIV, page 179, under date of October, 1803.

<sup>12</sup> Harich writes: "Eine Anspielung auf Hoffmanns Warschauer Oper, auf die er kurz vor dem Zusammenbruch Preußens seine Hoffnung gesetzt hatte." See *E. T. A. Hoffmann*, II, 383.

Based on Wagenseil's Nürnberg chronicle, this story might have been one of Hoffmann's greatest creations, but he died before it was completed. Albrecht Dürer is the hero, and back of it all lay a goodly measure of the poet's own struggles. We do not know, however, how Dürer was to dispose of his enemy, or what was to be the eventual fate of Raphael and Mathilde. One can only wonder how the dying poet managed to dictate the poems that stand out on the prose pages.

One of the significant features of the poems in *Der Feind* is the fact that they show Hoffmann's fleeting ambition to become a "Tondichter," to write his own words and set them to music; and prose cannot be sung. Take the song Raphael sang to Mathilde, when he was "von Liebeswahnsinn ergriffen" (II, 284-285). The first six lines are:

So kommst du her,  
Schönst' der Jungfrauen?  
Darf ich dich schauen?  
Wunderbares Bangen  
hält die Brust befangen.  
Schweigt Abendwinde, Stimmen des Waldes!

The trouble with these poems is exaggeration. The following has the ring, not of a genuine emotion, rather of amusement aroused by a man in Raphael's plight:

O Braut, die Lippen triefen dir  
Von Honigseime für und für,  
Die Zung' ist Milch und Honigsüße:  
die Kleider haben den Geschmack,  
den Libanus nicht geben mag,  
auch wenn er alle Kraft anbliese.

These are some of the last words Hoffmann ever wrote; but he had manifestly learned more about ridicule than restraint.

No great benefit would derive from a detailed discussion of the poetry, generally written in iambic pentameters, that makes up so large a part of Hoffmann's so-called plays. One has the feeling here too that he wrote his dramatic works with his tongue in his cheek. His irony is not so much romantic as Hoffmannesque. In *Die Prinzessin Blandina, ein romantisches Spiel in drei Aufzügen* (1814), Adolar remarks that "die Dichter bedenken niemals, daß sie eigentlich bloß der Schauspieler wegen da sind." Sempiternus then remarks (VII, 325):

Vernichtet sei das Werk des schnöden Truges.  
Weg mit dem Memorieren böser Iamben,  
Die nur des Dichters Eigensinn geformt!  
Weg mit dem tollen Stück fantastischer Narrheit!



In the "Singspiele," however—*Die Maske* belongs to his first stay in Berlin—Hoffmann employed a much wider range of verse form. In the final aria of *Faustine*, only a few pages of which were completed, we seem to hear Hoffmann singing his own fate (XII, 510):

Heilige Kunst,  
Neige dich zu mir, lohne mein Streben,  
Laß mich auf deinen Fittichen schweben,  
Tröste mich, tröste mich, heilige Kunst!

Heilige Kunst,  
Nagende Qualen trag' ich im Herzen,  
Habe nicht Rast mehr, gefoltert von Schmerzen,  
Tröste mich, tröste mich, heilige Kunst.

Hoffmann wrote these verses about 1804; he had then eighteen more years to live. The idea never abandoned him, and he never abandoned it, however great the change in art genre.

By birth, temperament, personal connections, and literary output E. T. A. Hoffmann was a Romantic writer, the most musically<sup>13</sup> gifted, but least patriotic, of them all. Yet until the close of the World War, or about one century after his death, he was neither greatly popular with his own people, despite his popularity abroad, nor was he studied as he might well have been by such scholars as search without ceasing for problem cases. One problem inseparably connected with him was his tendency to write poetry, but not as an independent endeavor. Why did he do it?

Sakheim writes:<sup>14</sup> "Was ihm (etwa an lyrischem Können, denn tiefe Lyrismen lagen wohl in seinem Blute) fehlte, suchte er durch Aufnahme der gesamten romantischen Kultur zu kompensieren." This statement has a measure of truth in it, but we cannot glibly say that Hoffmann interspersed his prose works with poems merely because his contemporaries did. He read with pleasurable profit, for example, Ludwig Tieck's *Sternbald*, with its many injected poems, as early as 1805, but it would be hazardous to contend that he imitated Tieck when he inserted poems in his own prose.<sup>15</sup> Nor could we safely close the case by stating that he inserted poems

<sup>13</sup> Richard Benz, in his *Deutsche Romantik* (Leipzig, 1937), discusses Hoffmann at length on pages 335-353, without so much as mentioning the fact that he wrote poems, though he does call attention to the oddity involved in his declination to write his own *Undine* libretto.

<sup>14</sup> E. T. A. Hoffmann: *Studien zu seiner Persönlichkeit und seinen Werken* (Leipzig, 1908). Page 213.

<sup>15</sup> Not much can be made of the fact that Hoffmann read other works. He read with marked pleasure Sterne's *Sentimental Journey*, but there are no interspersed lyrics in it. He was also fond of M. G. Lewis's *The Monk*, which contains interspersed lyrics, quoted and original, in abundance.



as so many attempts at decoration, somewhat after the fashion of the drawings he occasionally made for his own works. Nor did he do it merely in order to indulge in rhythmical banter.

Hoffmann was a born story-teller. He may have wished to become a great musical composer—his innate gifts might have made this possible—but his life so shaped itself that he spent it hovering on the thin dividing line between the rational and the irrational. He was an excited writer. And when his interest in the situation became uncontrollable, when his characters could no longer see their way clear to expressing their thoughts in sober prose, he went over to verse. There is hardly a place in his works where he inserted a poem that was either preceded or followed by epic calm.

Moreover, the Märchen played a leading rôle with Hoffmann, so that the turning to verse was natural. In his *Die Verse in den Sagen und Märchen*, Gerhard Kahlo<sup>16</sup> comes to the conclusion that whereas the insertion of verses in foreign literature, Indian and Japanese for example, was arbitrary, unimportant, and at times disconcerting, the case with European literature is quite different: "In Europa haben die Verse stets eine feststehende Bedeutung: sie sind animistischer Natur, d.h., sie dienen als Verkehrssprache zwischen Geistern und Menschen." The study takes no account of Hoffmann, but the thesis applies to him, not only in his fairy-tales but also in his works that make no pretense at dealing with other than human beings. He might admittedly have omitted his verses, but no one can claim or prove that they jar or seem ill placed. They are Hoffmann's way of expressing his cumulative enthusiasm, his pent-up admiration for, or detestation of, a climax which he himself had brought on.

This helps to explain the fact that Hoffmann did not publish poems independent of a circumscribing context. An idea would come to him, he would ponder it until the germinal thought took hold of him and then, instead of confining himself to such limits as a detached poem would necessitate, he wrote his story. But if the story rose to some unusual height of evolutionary interest, he went over to lyricism. That his poems have not been published separately since his own day is due to the plain fact that they do not have enough value to warrant this type of emphasis. Hoffmann was no lyric genius. Some of the lyrics in, say, *Wilhelm Meister* have been published separately so often that even the informed may forget where they originally appeared. Hoffmann's are not that valuable.

This in turn aids in an explanation of why the various Hoffmann scholars have passed them over in silence. The majority<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Leipzig, 1918. P. 121. The work is Kahlo's dissertation (Jena).

<sup>17</sup> Even Heine, who knew his Hoffmann well, never once referred to his lyrics. See *Fünf Kapitel über H. Heine und E. T. A. Hoffmann*, by Heinrich Uhlandahl (Berlin, 1919). Pp. 96.

of work on Hoffmann of a high order has been done in the last two decades. These scholars, men of the type of von Maaßen, Egli, Hans von Müller, Willimczik, and Harich have confined their attention to sweeping orientation; or to a precise determination of what Hoffmann stood for as a writer of narrative prose. With this about settled, and his personal character about evaluated, we may expect a sizable shower of special Hoffmann studies.

One of these could well be on the puzzle connected with his poems. He himself commented on them in his prose fiction but, as will be shown later, never in an illuminating way. His silence regarding them in his letters and diaries would argue, if not prove, that he attached no special significance to them; that he was merely following the romantic tradition. The truth is, Hoffmann was Romanticism's least important figure as a literary critic. In his *Dichter und Komponist*, he stresses the allegiance between the poet and the musician (XIII, 106), but he is discussing the opera in this connection, and Richard Wagner disproved his thesis that the poet must write the words and the musician the music. There is however truth in his general attitude: The romantic lyricists were one group, the romantic composers quite a different group.

Nor is it clear why some of his works are utterly verseless. Inserting poems or not has no connection with the years in which he wrote. He dictated poems on his deathbed; he failed to insert poems in works he wrote when in perfect health. One illustration of verselessness must suffice. Let us take the one work about which opinions have so long varied, the one that has been called the "erratischer Block" of his total output, the one which inspired Vilmar to state<sup>18</sup> that for the reader who likes it "ist schwerlich Schiller und Goethe noch vorhanden, geschweige denn ein Nibelungenlied oder ein Homer." One can only mean *Die Elixiere des Teufels* (1814-1816). There is not a poem in it.

But there might well be: It is on the border-line between the rational and the irrational, it treats love at length, it is Medieval and Catholic, it is enormously complicated, it is like his other works to the extent that some themes in them are repeated here, it is dramatic, and it contains a number of general observations that might pass as winged words, a type that is not exactly common to Hoffmann. But there are no poems.

The main reasons for this seem to be: The novel was written at high speed (March 4, 1814, to Summer, 1815: 411 pages),

<sup>18</sup> *Geschichte der deutschen National-Literatur* (15th ed.), page 542. It is, on the contrary, stupefying and that only to read the words of unjustified, irrational praise which Richard Schaukal heaps on Hoffmann in the introduction to his edition, in 8 volumes, Leipzig, no year. Schaukal loathed literary historians almost as much as J. Wassermann, and like Wassermann, he felt that a one-man history of German literature was a grotesque absurdity.

moves with breath-taking rapidity, and has an exceedingly involved action. It was written when Hoffmann was plagued with his perennial troubles, and with war, illness, and social entanglements in addition. It treats some unalluring themes, incest among others, so that the type of poetic mood Hoffmann was most given to indulging was not favored. It is devoid of humor and lightness so that relaxation through lyrics was out of place while jocose rhymes would have seemed absurd. And it is consistently on a tense level, there is no let down, the characters are always excited. Scholars<sup>19</sup> have made out a number of good cases for its relationship with other works that might have moved Hoffmann to imitate the lyricism that is in them; but he did not. Harich says of the novel that it is "der einzige Roman der Romantik, der die Gesetze der Epik erfüllt und ein fortstürmendes Geschehen vor uns hinlegt" (IV, Nachwort v). This is suggestive, but it does not explain the absence of interpolated verses, unless we are to interpret it in the spirit of Friedrich Hebbel, who regarded it as the best work Hoffmann ever wrote. But are we to assume that excellence in Hoffmann meant seriousness, and seriousness ruled out lyrics?

As a lyric writer, Hoffmann holds a unique place among German Romanticists. His achievements in this field—he wrote after all more poems than Kleist—have been not disallowed, but ignored. For his poems he has received neither faint praise nor flat condemnation. He was in no sense a lyric leader. His poems poetize a given caprice, or add a touch of playfulness, or unfold a versified quip, or exalt a mood of revery, or lend a touch of irony, or reveal the human fact that he was unwilling to be known merely as a prose narrator. Many a poet, including Goethe, has taken singular pride in the very things he did with only minor perfection. He was a true Romanticist at least in this: He mixed his genres—drawing, music, painting, poetry, prose. He knew but precious little about Friedrich Schlegel, but he came near to creating "Universalpoesie."

The main trouble lies in the query so frequently prompted by the action of the Romanticists themselves: Was he really sincere? He could write verse if he cared to. But Willimczik has divided his writings into three groups: "Breite Heerstraße," "Reich der Träume," "Reich der Wahrheit." If we found interspersed poems in one of these, or in two of them, but not in the other, we would be at once on the way toward a broad and safe conclusion. But we find no such distribution. Unless then we hold that injected lyrics

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *Novellenkomposition in E. T. A. Hoffmanns Elixieren des Teufels*, by Ottmar Schissel von Fleschenberg (Halle, 1910). And *E. T. A. Hoffmanns Elixiere des Teufels und Cl. Brentanos Romanzen vom Rosenkranz*, by Elisabeth Reitz (Bonn, 1920).

were with Hoffmann mere playthings, his case is still open. But it is still open also with German Romanticism as a whole and concerted movement. Why did the interpolation of poems in prose works become so popular with them?<sup>20</sup>

The sole commitments Hoffmann himself made in this connection are found in *Serapionsbrüder* (1821), and *Kater Murr* (1822).<sup>21</sup> Coming at the very end of his life, they have at least chronological value. In *Serapionsbrüder* he came out flatly against the insertion of poems in a prose narrative on the ground that the "metrische Krücken" that invariably accompany "wohlklingende Verse" might tempt the reader to glide too quickly over a passage the basic meaning of which calls for slow, studied consideration. In *Kater Murr* he wrote:

Verse sollen in dem in Prosa geschriebenen Buch das leisten, was der Speck in der Wurst, nämlich hin und wieder in kleinen Stückchen eingestreut, dem ganzen Gemengsel mehr Glanz und Fettigkeit, mehr süße Anmut des Geschmacks verleihen.

The statement is self-explanatory, though notice might be taken of the fact that he wrote "sollen," not "sollten." Neither does more however than eliminate the suggestion that he was technically unconscious of his adherence, in this regard, to established romantic usage. But even so, neither throws light on his unromantic habit of quoting the verses of others without even a remote indication as to their original.<sup>22</sup>

New York

<sup>20</sup> See: *Von Ludwig Tieck zu E. T. A. Hoffmann: Studien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des romantischen Subjektivismus*, by Walter Jost (Frankfurt am Main, 1921). Pp. 136. He makes out a strong case for Tieck's influence, but never mentions the inserted poems. *The Influence of E. T. A. Hoffmann on the Tales of Edgar Allan Poe*, by Palmer Cobb (Chapel Hill, 1908). Pp. 104. This dissertation, valuable throughout, is of greatest value to the American student for its discussion of the influence of *Die Elixire des Teufels* on Poe's *William Wilson*. No mention is made of the lyric aspect.

<sup>21</sup> *Das Buch der deutschen Romantik*, by Ernst Ludwig Schellenberg (Berlin, 1924). Pp. 160f. Schellenberg also intimates that Mörike may have been moved by Hoffmann to insert poems in his own *Maler Nolten*. For facts, Schellenberg's great volume deserves more attention than it has received; but it is difficult to conceive of Mörike caught in the drag-net of E. T. A. Hoffmann.

<sup>22</sup> In I, 41, of his *E. T. A. Hoffmanns ausgewählte Werke* (1893), four volumes, Joseph Lautenbacher says: "Als Lyriker ist er nie hervorgetreten. Dennoch war derselbe, wie in jedem echten Dichter, auch in ihm latent vorhanden, kam aber zur Aussprache weniger in dichterischen Produkten, als in seinen musikalischen Versuchen, und in jenen enthusiastischen Ergüssen, in denen er der Musik sozusagen nachdichtete." That is not an epoch-making observation; but it is an acknowledgement such as Heine, familiar with the insertion of lyrics in prose works from practice as well as from theory, did not make in his *Die Romantische Schule*. Heine used Hoffmann merely as a contrast to Novalis, and referred to both as "Dichter."

"SIXTY" AS A CONVENTIONAL NUMBER  
AND OTHER CHAUCERIANA

By SISTER MARY IMMACULATE, C.S.C.

I. CHAUCER'S USE OF "SIXTY"

When Chaucer, describing the "hous of tydinges," wrote,

Syker be ye, hit nas not lyte, 1978  
For hyt was sixty myle of lengthe,<sup>1</sup>

it is probable that he wished to convey an impression of length indefinitely extended rather than precise dimension. An interesting example of this vague use of "sixty" occurs in the following passage from the *Sege of Melayne*:

Sexty fawconns faire of flyghte,  
And sexti stedis noble and wyghte,  
In euer-ilke journey bolde. . . .  
Sexty grewhondes vnto þe gamen,  
And sexti raches rynnande in samen.<sup>2</sup>

In his edition of *Sir Beues of Hamtoun*, Kölbing notes that line 1018 of his text, "Sexti þosent felde to grounde," is *quatre cent* in the Old French source, and that the French for line 1045, "Sexti cites wiþ castel tour" is *quatre cent* also.<sup>3</sup> With the order reversed but with the significance unchanged is the Icelandic version for line 245 of the same poem:

ath a litilli stundu drap hann sextigi riddara

which appears in the Old French as *VII cent* and in the English as *ten þosent*.<sup>4</sup> Other passages containing this vague use of "sixty" are found in *Sir Perceval*,

Sexty schaftes, I say,  
Sir Percyuell brake þat ilke day,<sup>5</sup>

in Sir Orfeo, "Damsels sexti and mo,"<sup>6</sup> in *Havelok*.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Chaucer's *Complete Works* (New York, 1933), p. 351, ll. 1978-1979.

<sup>2</sup> Edited by Sidney J. Herrtage for *EETS* (1880), p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> *EETS*, extra series, XLVI (1885), 249.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Kölbing's edition, p. 232, note.

<sup>5</sup> In *Middle English Metrical Romances*, ed. French and Hale (New York, 1930), p. 533, ll. 57-58. Romances not otherwise designated are quoted from this edition.

<sup>6</sup> *Metrical Romances*, p. 326, l. 88.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 132 and 175.

He tok some knithes ten 1746  
and wel *sixti* oþer men . . .

In Engelond, and was þerinne 2964  
*Sixti* winter king with winne

and in *Richard Coer de Lion*.<sup>8</sup>

Doun ye scholde fallen there 4090  
In a pyt *syrty* fadme deep . . .

These examples seem to make it sufficiently clear that in medieval literature "sixty" had a conventional meaning as a large but indefinite number. In view of Chaucer's use of other conventional numbers, it would be surprising if he did not follow the tradition here. His use of "thousand" and "twenty," for instance, is typical of medieval practice: "A thousand men slow he eek with his hond," (MkT 3227); "Mo than a thousand stories, as I gesse," (FranklT, 1412); "the place yaf a thousand savours swote," (PF 274); "In twenty manere koude he trippe and daunce," (MillT 3328); "His helm tohewen was in twenty places," (TC 2, 638); "And for a soth they tellen twenty lyes!" (TC 4, 1407). In the *House of Fame* (3, l. 1335), the heroes' coats of armor are so heavy that men might make of them a bible "twenty foote thykke as I trow."

Whether or not Chaucer followed medieval practice also in the conventional use of "sixty," an examination of a few passages will show. The "sixty myle of lengthe," to which I have previously referred in the *House of Fame* was certainly a vast but indefinite dimension. Sypherd, in describing the wicker-work houses known to have existed in Ireland when Chaucer wrote, gives only one precise measurement, and that a length of seventeen feet.<sup>9</sup> Chaucer, in making his "hous of tydinges" similar to ordinary twig-houses in other respects, wished, perhaps, to stress his departure in the matter of size by means of this conventional hyperbole. Obviously, also, in *Troilus and Criseyde*, "sixty" connotes a large but indefinite number. This is clear from the context, for the fire of love had taken possession of Troilus,

And brende hym so in soundry wise *ay newe* I, 439  
That *sexti* tyme a day he loste his hewe.

<sup>8</sup> Kölbing, in his edition of Sir Beues, p. 249, gives more than twenty references to similar lines, but the greater number of these are "sixty score," or "sixty thousand." These lines are quoted from *Metrical Romances*, ed. H. Weber for the Camden Society, 1810.

<sup>9</sup> Sypherd, W. O., *Studies in Chaucer's House of Fame* (London, 1907), p. 141. Cf. O'Curry, E., *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish* (London, 1873), III, 31.

The general context, and especially the expression, "Ful of degrees," seems to suggest a similar usage in the *Knight's Tale* when Chaucer says of the theatre of Theseus,

Round was the shap, in manere of compas,  
Ful of degrees, the heighte of sixty pas. 1890

In the *Merchant's Tale*, while it is true that January actually must have been passed sixty year" (line 1252), and that here the word would have its literal significance, in line 1248, "sixty yeer a wyfles man was hee," the number must again have been indefinite unless at a very early age January was considered marriageable.

Because the number of books actually possessed by Chaucer is still a matter of scholarly controversy,<sup>10</sup> it is difficult to know whether the "sixty bokes olde and newe" which he claims in the *Legend of Good Women* (G 273) amounted to that number or not. If, as some authorities maintain, he owned only a few books, "sixty" might mean a large number only in comparison with the average, since a conventional number usually takes its mathematical significance from its context. If, on the other hand, Chaucer, either because of his position, or because of his own labors and those of his scrivener, possessed many books, no word could convey this impression of affluence better than the conventional "sixty." It is also possible that in a relatively bookless age, he might have been immortalizing in round numbers a private library boasting sixty books by actual count, in which case the word would have its literal meaning. But the tone of jocular reproach in the God of Love's speech,

Ne in alle thy bokes ne coudest thow nat fynde      G 271  
Som story of wemen that were goode and trewe?  
Yis, God wot, syxty bokes olde and newe  
Hast thow thyself, alle ful of storyes grete,

leads one to suspect that here he was hinting at indefinite literary resources which might possibly have been considerable in any century, but were at least relatively so in Chaucer's.

So much for the word in Chaucer's purely literary passages. In two other pieces when he was strictly translating from a non-literary source, the word has its mathematical significance. One passage in the *Monk's Tale* describes the statue ordered by Nebuchadnezzar as being "sixty cubites long" (line 3350), which is the dimen-

<sup>10</sup> Some scholars accept the opinion of Lounsbury in holding that the price of books would be prohibitive for a man in Chaucer's circumstances. (See his *Studies in Chaucer*, II, 196-7). Professor Karl Young has called to my attention the fact that "book" often meant merely a division of matter equivalent in length to chapters and bound together with other such "books" to form a volume.



sion given for it in the Vulgate; other passages where such recurring expressions as "60 mynutes," and "60 seconds" have the force of scientific precision occur in the *Astrolabe*.

Thus, although Chaucer used "sixty" in its literal sense in these translated passages, once in the *Merchant's Tale*, and possibly in the *Legend of Good Women*, in all other instances he followed the medieval practice of using it to signify a large but indefinite number. It would seem, then, that while the *NED* (B: 1, b), gives no earlier instance than 1848 for such expressions as "to run like sixty" and then refers to them as Americanisms, the word had this vague hyperbolic significance in English literature at least as early as the fourteenth century.

## II. THE "HOOLY SACREMENT"

In his note on the marriage service in the *Merchant's Tale*, Professor Tatlock says that in the following passage,

1700

But finally ycomen is the day  
That to the chirche bothe be they went  
For to receyve the hooly sacrement.  
Forth comth the preest, with stole aboute his nekke  
And bad hire be lyk Sarra and Rebekke,

the "hooly sacrement" is the Blessed Eucharist.<sup>11</sup> Skeat thought that Chaucer meant matrimony because marriage was considered a sacrament by the "Romish" Church.<sup>12</sup> Professor Robinson maintains that either may be correct.<sup>13</sup> I think it certain, however, that Chaucer definitely meant matrimony, and since Skeat has offered no explanation for taking this view, I shall give several reasons which not only make this interpretation plausible, but essential to the satirical technique.

Given two persons of the spiritual calibre of May and January, the eagerness implicit in the line, "But finally ycomen is the day," would scarcely characterize their attitude toward the Sacrament of the Altar. So ardent a desire, if one possessed it, might be frequently satisfied.<sup>14</sup> Secondly, the order of the ceremony is to be considered. According to the medieval ritual, the administration of the sacrament of matrimony would come first. After this came the Nuptial Mass or *Missa Pro Sponsis* which had no intrinsic part in the ad-

<sup>11</sup> *MLN*, XXXII, 373-374.

<sup>12</sup> *Canterbury Tales* (Notes), p. 359.

<sup>13</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 819-20.

<sup>14</sup> How frequently it is difficult to say, but it is known that St. Bonaventure permitted his monks to communicate once a week. The laity approached the Table less frequently, but by a solemn decree of Innocent III (1215), Communion was made compulsory at least once a year during the paschal season.



ministration of the sacrament of matrimony, but which followed it in the formal marriage ceremony. During this *Missa Pro Sponsis*, the couple would receive the Holy Eucharist at the usual time for the Communion of the laity, that is, after the Communion of the priest. When the Mass was over, additional blessings would be given.<sup>15</sup>

In the *Merchant's Tale*, the text clearly states that to receive a particular "hooly sacrement" was the purpose of May and January in going to church together. When "forth comth the preest," it was obviously to officiate at the administration of the "hooly sacrement" spoken of in the preceding line. This must have been matrimony, because if it were the Sacrament of the Eucharist, it would be administered out of its liturgical order and in violation of the ritual. The stole is mentioned because it is the vestment proper to the marriage ceremony. It is not, however, proper to the administration of the Eucharist, since this sacrament would be given during the Mass, when, if any vestment were mentioned it would have been the chasuble which is then worn over the stole and conceals it. While it is undoubtedly true that in all probability May and January did receive the Eucharist as was customary during the *Missa Pro Sponsis*, I do not think the line cited by Professor Tatlock either refers to it or proves it.

I have enlarged upon this interpretation because it is only when the "hooly sacrement" is understood to mean matrimony that it has a significant bearing upon the satire. It is evident throughout the tale that January is much more preoccupied with the privileges of marriage than with the sacredness of its sacramental character. For that reason, Chaucer, wishing to satirize his motives, never loses an opportunity of slyly emphasizing the "hooly" aspect. Thus January, "passed sixty yeer" wishes to marry

Were it for hoolynesse or for dotage,  
I kan nat seye.

1253

He prays "oure Lord to graunten him . . . to lyve under that hooly boond,"<sup>16</sup> for "mariage is a ful greet sacrement";<sup>17</sup> and it is for showing his "heigh sentence so holily and weel,"<sup>18</sup> that Placebo commands him. When January finally chooses the young and beautiful May, it is only "to lede in ese and hoolynesse his lyf."<sup>19</sup> When at last the day comes that they can both go to church to receive this

<sup>15</sup> See *Missale Westminster*, III, 1242.

<sup>16</sup> l. 1261.

<sup>17</sup> l. 1319.

<sup>18</sup> l. 1507.

<sup>19</sup> l. 1628.

"hooly sacrement," to make "al siker ynough with hoolynesse" is the final function of the officiating priest.<sup>20</sup> If this "hooly sacrement" means the Eucharist, it has been abruptly introduced without previous or subsequent mention, and the entire point of the satire is lost.

### III. THE FIRST TABLE

Commenting on the following lines in the *Pardoner's Tale*,

639

Bihoold and se that in the firste table  
Of heigh Goddes heestes honorable,  
Hou that the seconde heeste of hym is this:  
"Take nat my name in ydel or amys,"

Professor Robinson says that by "the firste table" is meant the first five of the Ten Commandments.<sup>21</sup> It is true that in some Calvinistic churches one sees two tables of five commandments each, five representing the duties of piety and a second five those of probity, although the more usual Protestant division of duties to God and neighbor is respectively four and six.<sup>22</sup> But because the medieval theologian considered Exodus XX, 2, an introduction, and Exodus XX, 3, the first commandment, the division with which Chaucer was familiar would be three and seven.<sup>23</sup>

Bede, following earlier Fathers, had written in his commentary on the Pentateuch, "ut tria pertineant ad dilectionem Trinitas, septem vero ad amorem fraternum."<sup>24</sup> Aelfric, basing his Homily for Mid-Lent Sunday on both Bede and Alcuin<sup>25</sup> wrote:

Tȳn beboda awrāt se Ælmihtiga on ȝām twām tabelum; ȝrēo word on ānre tabelan, ȝa belimpað tō Godes lufe, and seofan on ȝære ȝðre, þā gebyriað tō manna lufe and tō gefērrædene ūre nēxtan.<sup>26</sup>

Later, in the fourteenth century, in *Dan Jon Gaytryge's Sermon* one reads, "Of þe whilke tene þe thre ere firste awe us hallyly to halde anence oure Godd, and þe seuene þat ere aftyre anence oure euen Cristene."<sup>27</sup>

<sup>20</sup> I. 1708.

<sup>21</sup> *Chaucer's Complete Works*, p. 836.

<sup>22</sup> Webber, F. R., *Church Symbolism* (Cleveland, 1938), pp. 29, 32-3.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *Speculum Ecclesiae* of Honorius of Autun, Migne, P. L., 172, 873.

<sup>24</sup> Migne, P. L., 91, 318.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Max Forster, "Über d. Quellen v. Aelfric's Exeg. Hom." in *Anglia*, XVI, 25.

<sup>26</sup> *Homilies of Aelfric*, ed. Benjamin Thorpe (London, 1896), II, 204.

<sup>27</sup> In *Religious Pieces*, ed. G. G. Perry for EETS (London, 1867), p. 5.

## IV. "SHE IS THE LYF OF ANGELES"

A passage in the *Parson's Tale* which treats of a woman living in virginity, contains the curious sentence, "Thanne is she spouse to Jhesu Crist, and she is the lyf of angeles," (l. 948). In his comment, Professor Robinson says that the phrase does not seem natural, and may be due to some misunderstanding of the source.<sup>28</sup> Miss Petersen seems to have found no equivalent in the *Summa seu Tractatus de Viciis* of Guiliemus Peraldus.<sup>29</sup> Skeat, after presenting parallels, concludes that "she is the lyf of angeles" means "she lives like them," although none of his citations have a similar grammatical construction.<sup>30</sup> For this line Manly gives no variants.

The suggestion which I offer depends, for the most part, upon emendation, and although not unreasonable, is presented merely as conjecture. In the original manuscript, it is possible, I think, that the scribe wrote "lyf" for "lyk," an error which later copyists repeated. A scribe, if he were careless, would have missed the lower horizontal stroke of "k" in which case he would have "f" since the upper line of "f" is often uncurved. If an emendation be made, the passage would read, "She is the lyk of angeles," and would have its ultimate source, I think, in a passage from Saint Mark, XII, 25, which was very commonly used in treatises on virginity: "Cum enim a mortuis resurrexerint, neque nubent, neque nubentur, sed sunt sicut angeli in coelis." The Old French parallel from Frere Lorens's *Somme de Vice et de Vertus* cited by Skeat and by Eilers<sup>31</sup> supports this emendation also: "Car cel estat fet celui qui bien le garde semblant as angels du ciel." The *Ayenbite of Inwit*, in the passage on chastity says, "Vor þet stat makeþ þane þet hit wel lokeþ / anlyke to þe angles of heuene / ase ziggeþ þe halþen."<sup>32</sup>

While Chaucer usually prefers *lyk* to in an adjectival construction also, there are many instances of *lyk* used as a substantive in medieval literature. The *NED* gives it not only as something considered in respect of its likeness to something else (*like*, C, 2), as in the example, "Lyk to lyk accordis wele" (c. 1375 *Sc. Leg. Saints*, i. Petrus, p. 43), but also (under C, 1) in a genitive construction with a qualifying possessive pronoun or its analogue, meaning counterpart, equal, match. It is true that the example given from Chaucer under this meaning, "Of trouth is ther non her lich Of all these

<sup>28</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 879.

<sup>29</sup> Petersen, K., *The Sources of the Parson's Tale* (Boston, 1901).

<sup>30</sup> Chaucer's *Complete Works*, V, 472.

<sup>31</sup> Ed. R. Morris for EETS, 1865, p. 227.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Wilhelm Eiler's dissertation, "'The Parson's Tale,' and the 'Somme de Vices et de Vertus' of Frere Lorens," in *Essays on Chaucer*, Pt. V, p. 501 ff., and especially pp. 578-9.

wymmen" (*Anel. and Arc.*, 76), is ambiguous in that it can be either genitive or dative, but the others are clearly genitive: "Faire hi habbe here in inome At on palais, nas non his liche" (c. 1300, *Floriz & Bl.*, 483); "Whan ffrith and felde wexen gaye, And every wight desireth his like" (c. 1400, *Sowdone Bab.*, 44).

In view of these analogues, it seems more reasonable to assume that a scribal error should have occurred in the *Parson's Tale* than that Chaucer should have used a bad idiom unique in medieval literature. Nevertheless, since other and better explanations may be forthcoming, I present this suggestion merely as an interesting possibility.

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## MILTON AND THE THEORY OF CLIMATIC INFLUENCE

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That Milton several times alludes to the idea that northern climates had a deleterious effect on the human mind and tended to make men dull-witted has been pointed out by nearly all his editors and commentators. However, no real study of the notion as it occurs in his works appears to have been made, with the result that its importance as a serious element in his thought has not been given due consideration, and that many of the statements made about his attitude toward it are inaccurate or misleading.<sup>1</sup>

It is worthwhile at the outset to look at the idea itself and to put it in its contemporary setting. Englishmen who hoped to do great things in certain fields of activity were faced in the seventeenth century by two disturbing theories. The first of these, the notion that the world was running down and nearing its end and that, as Sir Thomas Browne put it, it was "too late to be ambitious,"<sup>2</sup> has been much studied in recent years.<sup>3</sup> The second was the notion of the adverse effect of cold climates, the fear that Englishmen as northerners might not be capable of succeeding fully in certain pursuits. This idea was part of a complex theory of climatic influence on the constitution of peoples which traces back ultimately to a statement in Aristotle's *Politics*, in which the Greeks are contrasted, on the one hand, with dwellers in cold climates like the northern Europeans, who were full of courage but wanting in understanding and the arts and deficient in political capacities; and on the other hand, with the Asiatics, who had quick understandings but were wanting in courage. The Greeks, being situated between the two, are described as both courageous and intelligent and as being governed in the best manner possible.<sup>4</sup> In the

<sup>1</sup> Typical are Keightley's assertion in his edition of the *Poems* (London, 1859) that "this [the idea of the adverse effect of climate] was a constant opinion of Milton's (note on *Paradise Lost*, IX, 44), and Verity's remark that the notion was a "lifelong opinion" of Milton's (*Paradise Lost* [Cambridge, 1929, 2 vols.], II, 566). See also the same editor's note in the Appendix to Jebb's edition of the *Areopagitica* ([Cambridge, 1928], p. 104). The comments of Miss Darbishire suffer from her failure to consider the idea in relation to its background in seventeenth century thought and are inaccurate in details (*Early Lives of Milton* [London, 1932], pp. lvii-lviii). For a striking illustration of the failure to consider climatic influence as a serious element in Milton's thought see Sir Charles Firth's otherwise admirable discussion of the "Digression" in the *History of Britain* (*Essays, Historical and Literary* [Oxford, 1938], p. 98).

<sup>2</sup> *Works*, ed. G. L. Keynes (London, 1928-31, 6 vols.), IV, 45.

<sup>3</sup> Notably by R. F. Jones in *Ancients and Moderns: A Study of the Background of the "Battle of the Books"*, Washington University Studies in Language and Literature, New Series (St. Louis, 1936), pp. 23-42.

<sup>4</sup> VII, vii.

Renaissance similar ideas found highly elaborated expression in the *Republique* of Bodin, who thought that climate had produced differences between northern and southern peoples much like those which Aristotle had noted between northern Europeans and Asiatics, and who considered the matter so important that he devoted a whole chapter to it.<sup>5</sup> This writer divides the peoples of the northern hemisphere into inhabitants of the warm or "burning" regions situated in the first thirty degrees north of the Equator; inhabitants of the temperate regions situated in the next thirty degrees; and inhabitants of the cold regions situated in the third band of thirty degrees.<sup>6</sup> Those who lived in the north were courageous, forceful, and hardy, but dull-witted, and, though lovers of freedom, lacking in political competence.<sup>7</sup> They were deficient in eloquence and learning and were designed by nature for "labour and manuall artes."<sup>8</sup> The peoples of the "burning" regions, however, were exceedingly subtle and quick-witted and excelled in philosophy, mathematics, and the contemplative sciences, but were deficient in force and courage.<sup>9</sup> The inhabitants of the temperate regions "had more force than they of the South & lesse policie: and more wit than they of the North, & lesse force"; and were more fit "to commaund and governe Commonweales." The "politique sciences" had come out of the temperate regions, and almost all the great empires of history had been situated therein.<sup>10</sup> But Bodin was not content merely to put civilized men into three great divisions. He subdivides each of these. Thus in the temperate region, those who lived in the southern half tended to be more like the inhabitants of the hot districts, while those who lived in the northern half tended to have the characteristics of northern peoples.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, within each of these subdivisions peoples differed from each other as they were more northern and more southern in their situation. The English, for example, had less force than the Scots but more than the French, whom they usually defeated in battle. The French, however, being more southern and hence possessed of greater subtlety, usually won the peace treaties, but were in turn outwitted by the Spaniards and Italians.<sup>12</sup> Similar ideas appear in Giovanni Botero, whose *Relations of the Most Famous Kingdomes and Common-wealths thorowout the World* had repeated editions in seventeenth century England. The opening section of this work, comprising the first nineteen pages in the London edition of 1630,

<sup>5</sup> Bk. V, ch. i. See especially p. 547. I use the translation by Richard Knolles which appeared in London in 1606 as *The Sixe Bookes of a Commonweale*.

<sup>6</sup> P. 547.

<sup>7</sup> Pp. 548, 550, 554, 561, 563, 567.

<sup>8</sup> Pp. 561, 559.

<sup>9</sup> Pp. 550, 548, 561.

<sup>10</sup> P. 550. See also p. 561.

<sup>11</sup> P. 547.

<sup>12</sup> Pp. 550, 553.

is devoted to a detailed exposition of the climatic theory, worked out, it may be incidentally mentioned, in terms of the four humors. Like Bodin, Botero finds northerners strong of body and courageous, but retarded in the development of their mental powers; southerners physically weak, but subtle, contemplative, and "supplied with extraordinary gifts of minde"; and those of the middle regions masters of politics and government and founders of great states and empires. But what gives his account special significance is that after putting most of the Spaniards and the Sicilians in the southern group and the inhabitants of "further Spaine," Italy, France, most of Greece, and "the higher Germanie" in the middle group, he proceeds specifically to put the English, along with the inhabitants of Ireland, Denmark, Scandinavia, and the Netherlands, in the group of northern peoples. Other writers who were less careful of the national reputation and who give the idea less elaborated treatment than Bodin and Botero, ignore the tripartite division in discussing climatic influences. To them the Italians and Spaniards were inhabitants of warm regions, possessed of the characteristics of dwellers in both Bodin's and Botero's southern and middle regions, and all to the north of them of northern countries and possessed of the characteristics of those who lived in cold climates. Thus the author of a curious tract on the Italians which was originally written in French, but which was translated into English and published in London in 1591, tells us that he wrote "to purge the Septentrionall and Occidental peoples of a grosse humour ingendred in them, by reason of the grossnes, and coldnes of the aier wherin they live, which letteth them for seeing so clearly into matters of state, and the government of this world, as doe the nations which are more Meridionall, who being aware of so great advantage can so cunningly handle the matter, to make us fall together by the eares, to weaken and overthrowe ouselves."<sup>13</sup> What emerges out of these three representative statements is the idea that the inhabitants of the colder northern countries of Europe tended to be deficient in two notable fields of activity, the arts and learning, and politics.

Such notions had obvious implications for Englishmen. Botero had said flatly that they belonged in the category of northern nations, and Bodin was not much more comforting, for though he had managed to include England in the middle zone, it was situated, not only in the northern half of the zone, in which he thought that men tended to have the characteristics of northerners, but in the last ten degrees of it and more northerly than any of the other great countries. Moreover, as all the evidence cited in the remainder of this article shows, Englishmen themselves were closer in their interpretation of the climatic theory to Botero and the author of the

<sup>13</sup> *A Discovery of the Great Subtiltie and Wonderful Wisedome of the Italians*, sig. A2 verso.



*Discovery of the Italians* than they were to Bodin. They habitually thought of England as a northern country and of themselves as inhabitants of a cold climate. Milton himself expresses what was the characteristic view of his countrymen when in *Of Education* he refers to Englishmen as "far northerly" and as dwellers in the "cold air."<sup>13a</sup> These facts considered, it is not surprising that the theory of climatic influence attracted much attention in England. Moreover, it found considerable acceptance there. The question of the relation of climate to artistic competence is discussed by various writers from the Elizabethan period on,<sup>14</sup> and indeed so widespread did the idea become that traces of it long survived in English thought.<sup>15</sup> In connection with the political aspects of the theory, attention was centered on the matter of subtlety and craftiness. Thomas Wright, for example, writing in *The Passions of the Minde*, was of the opinion that the warmer climate of Italy and Spain had produced in the inhabitants of those countries a "politique craftinesse" in which the English and northerners in general were lacking.<sup>16</sup> It is symptomatic of the seriousness with which such ideas were viewed that one finds English writers attempting by various shifts to dodge the implications of their full acceptance. Thus John Barclay asserted that though the climatic theory was generally true, there were in every climate some exceptions;<sup>17</sup> and Thomas Wright, as had the writer of the *Discovery of the Italians*, centered his attention upon correcting by education and knowledge the defects caused in his countrymen by their climate.<sup>18</sup> The climatic theory, however, did not by any means pass unchallenged. The admission of a certain inferiority on the part of the English, which acceptance of the idea involved, was one which many English writers were not prepared to make. Indeed, one finds numerous cases of writers militantly repudiating the idea of the inferiority of the English in any respect either because of their climate or for any other reason. Especially insofar as the notion related to the arts and learning was it challenged. Thomas Nashe,

<sup>13a</sup> *Prose Works*, ed. Bohn, III, 468.

<sup>14</sup> Nashe, *Works*, ed. R. B. McKerrow (London, 1904, 6 vols.), III, 322; Cowley, Preface to *Poems*, 1656, in *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. J. E. Spingarn (Oxford, 1908, 3 vols.), II, 80-81; Milton, *Mansus*, II, 27ff.

<sup>15</sup> In the Prologue to *Aureng-Zebe* Dryden writes: "And wit in northern climates will not blow." Pope alludes to the idea in the *Essay on Criticism* as one held by a certain type of false critic (II, 398-401). See also Sterne, *Tristram Shandy*, ed. James A. Work (New York, 1940), pp. 151-52 and cf. p. 64; *The Guardian*, No. 144 (August 26, 1713); and *The Mirror*, No. 18 (March 27, 1779).

<sup>16</sup> (London, 1630, 2nd ed.), sig. A7 verso.

<sup>17</sup> *The Mirrour of Mindes: or Barclays Icon Animorum*, tr. Thomas May (London, 1631), ch. X. Bodin makes the same point (*op. cit.*, p. 562).

<sup>18</sup> *Op. cit.*, sig. A7 recto. The idea was soundly grounded in contemporary theory. See Bodin's remarks on altering nature by education (*op. cit.*, p. 565), and cf. Milton, *Prose Works*, II, 470.



for example, has an angry outburst in vindication of the "wits our climate sends forth," in which he roundly asserts that the English poets "have vented their meeters with as much admiration in English as ever the proudest Ariosto did his verse in Italian."<sup>19</sup> And even Thomas Wright protests strongly against the notion that there was any inferiority on the part of the northern nations and especially the English in learning. He maintains, indeed, that "Flemings, Scots, and Englishmen were ever equall, and rather deeper Schollars than either Italians or Spaniards."<sup>20</sup>

Now when we turn to Milton, it is clear that the adverse effect of cold climates was an uncomfortable and disconcerting idea which kept recurring to him throughout the greater part of his career;<sup>21</sup> that it was a theory to which he gave serious consideration, as did his contemporaries; and that it must, therefore, be considered a not wholly unimportant element in his thought. He alludes to it at least eight times.<sup>22</sup> Nor does it seem difficult to explain this preoccupation, for the two specific applications which the notion possessed historically and which were also current in England were in two fields in which Milton was profoundly interested, namely, the arts and politics. The idea, in short, was relevant to the very things which were the great ambitions of his life, clearly so to his poetical plans, and scarcely less clearly to his endeavors in the field of political reform. If the idea was soundly grounded, it might mean that climate was against both his desire to write the great work which after ages would not willingly let die and his hopes as a political reformer. Milton gave no little thought to both of these possibilities. But, as we shall see, it is over-simplifying the matter to say that he "accepted" the climatic theory, and wholly misleading to speak of it as a "life-long opinion."

In a passage in the *Mansus* which constitutes his first significant reference to the effect of climate, we find Milton describing himself as a "youthful traveler from Hyperborean realms" and saying that Manso in his kindness "will not disdain so distant a Muse, who reared under hard conditions in the frozen North, recently dared in her rashness to fly through the cities of Italy." The tone sounds apologetic, as if Milton were conceding that the frozen North

<sup>19</sup> *Works*, III, 322. Cf. Samuel Daniel, *Works*, ed. A. B. Grosart (London, 1885-96, 5 vols.), III, 26.

<sup>20</sup> *Op. cit.*, sig. A5 recto.

<sup>21</sup> By implication, at least, he refers to the notion as early as 1626 when he speaks of "a savage nation born under the northern sky" (*In Quintum Novembris*, ll. 94-96).

<sup>22</sup> In addition to *In Quintum Novembris*, in *Mansus*, ll. 24ff.; *The Reason of Church Government* (*Prose Works*, II, 479); the *Areopagitica* (*P. W.*, II, 53, 90); the *Second Defense* (*P. W.*, I, 250); *Paradise Lost*, IX, 44-47; and the *History of Britain* (*P. W.*, V, 240). Cf. also *Ad Salsillum*, ll. 9-16; the remarks on the "fluxible fault" in *The Ready and Easy Way* (*P. W.*, II, 124); *Of Education* (*P. W.*, III, 468); and *The Reason of Church Government* (*P. W.*, II, 470).

had a harmful effect on poetical genius and not merely phrasing what he knew would be the normal attitude for Manso as an Italian to have toward him as an Englishman.<sup>23</sup> But it is important to notice that in the lines immediately following Milton very definitely undertakes to vindicate his countrymen from the charges of lack of cultivation and being "useless to Phoebus." Not only does he do this, but he has recourse to the Druids to go further and assert the great antiquity of poetry in England.<sup>24</sup> Certainly, Verity makes an illegitimate use of this passage in using it to support his contention that the adverse effect of northern climates was an opinion which Milton held throughout his life,<sup>25</sup> and he likewise errs in referring to the passage in *The Reason of Church Government*<sup>26</sup> for the same purpose. What one finds in this tract is the admission of a possibility, certainly, but an attitude which is far from being settled conviction on the matter. Doubtless the notion troubled Milton some, but I gather that he had no more difficulty in shaking it off in 1642 than when he wrote the *Mansus*. As a matter of fact, the whole idea was as contrary to Milton's mood in the early 1640's as was the notion of the senility of the universe which he couples with it and which he had once before specifically denied.<sup>27</sup> No one can read in the tracts of this period the eulogies of the English people and Milton's assertions that they were a race specially favored of God and destined to lead other nations<sup>28</sup> and believe for one minute that he was convinced that climate had adversely affected their wits.

<sup>23</sup> "The Italian at this day by like arrogance calleth the Frenchman, Spaniard, Dutch, English, and all other breed behither their mountaines, *Appennines, Tramontani*, as who would say Barbarous" (Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie*, ed. G. D. Willcock and Alice Walker [Cambridge, 1936], p. 250). See also the similar statement in Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. A. R. Shilleto (London, 1926, 3 vols.), II, 201, and Milton's own remark on the slowness of the Italians to bestow praise on those who came from north of the Alps (*P. W.*, II, 477). Cf. Wright, *op. cit.*, sig. A3 recto.

<sup>24</sup> Lines 24-43.

<sup>25</sup> *Supra*, note 1.

<sup>26</sup> "And as Tasso gave to a prince of Italy his choice whether he would command him to write of Godfrey's expedition against the Infidels, or Belisarius against the Goths, or Charlemain against the Lombards; if to the instinct of nature and the emboldening of art aught may be trusted, and that there be nothing adverse in our climate, or the fate of this age, it haply would be no rashness, from an equal diligence and inclination, to present the like offer in our own ancient stories" (*P. W.*, II, 478-79). Perhaps equally significant with this passage is one in Book One in which Milton remarks that "some nation or other may haply be better composed to a natural civility and right judgment" than the English, but that when Englishmen "get the benefit once of a wise and well-rectified nature," they rank among the first of peoples (*P. W.*, II, 470). There is no reference in this passage to the influence of climate, but it is hard to believe in view of the specific reference to the theory in Book Two that he did not have it in mind. It will be noted that the passage contains the characteristic Miltonic qualification "haply," i.e., "perhaps."

<sup>27</sup> *Naturam Non Pati Senium*. The idea, however, troubled Milton some in later years. See *P. W.*, I, 313; II, 34, 94, 114.

<sup>28</sup> *P. W.*, II, 368; III, 178.

The references to the climatic theory in the *Areopagitica* lead to similar conclusions. Milton first refers to the notion in this tract when he remarks near the beginning that his capacities are "haply not the worst for two and fifty degrees of northern latitude."<sup>29</sup> Now this by itself would indeed seem to indicate that he had by 1644 become a convert to the climatic theory, but no such inference can be drawn, first, because later in the tract, as we shall see in a moment, he flatly denies the whole idea;<sup>30</sup> and second, because the reading *worst*, on which the meaning hinges, is not free, as both Hales<sup>31</sup> and Jebb<sup>32</sup> pointed out, from the suspicion of being a misprint for *worse*, which not only yields a meaning consistent with the denial of the theory a few pages later and thus gives to the tract a consistency which it does not otherwise have, but also gives greater consistency to the paragraph in which the statement itself occurs. I do not care to attempt to settle here whether *worst* or *worse* is the proper reading. The evidence is inadequate and what there is is conflicting.<sup>33</sup> But I do wish to point out that if *worse* is the proper reading, then there is no evidence in the *Areopagitica* that Milton accepted the climatic theory, but rather only the flat repudiation of it which occurs a few pages later. If one insists, however, on taking the reading *worst*, then the most that can be said is that the remark indicates that, deny it though he might elsewhere in the tract, Milton could not in 1644 wholly free himself from the notion of climatic influence. One would then conclude that the idea had some partial hold upon him, but that he was in active rebellion against it. That these conclusions are correct will, I think, be clear when we examine the following passage, which I take to be a direct contradiction of the whole theory of the adverse effect of their cold climate on Englishmen:

Lords and commons of England! consider what nation it is whereof ye are, and whereof ye are governors: a nation not slow and dull, but of a quick, ingenious, and piercing spirit; acute to invent, subtle and sinewy to discourse, not beneath the reach of any point the highest that human capacity can soar to. Therefore the studies of learning in her deepest sciences have been so ancient, and so eminent among us, that writers of good antiquity and able judgment have been persuaded, that even the school of Pythagoras,

<sup>29</sup> *P. W.*, II, 53.

<sup>30</sup> *P. W.*, II, 90.

<sup>31</sup> *Areopagitica* (Oxford, 1886), p. 66.

<sup>32</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 68-69.

<sup>33</sup> Curiously enough, in discussing the point, Hales, Jebb, and also Verity (Appendix to Jebb's edition, p. 104) ignore the question of logical consistency within the *Areopagitica*. Verity especially offends by basing his decision, which happens to be against *worse*, on an attempt to make the *Areopagitica* consistent on the point with a misinterpretation of other passages outside the tract. Like Hales and Jebb he seems to be wholly unaware of any connection between Milton's remark and the "Lords and commons" passage.

and the Persian wisdom, took beginning from the old philosophy of this island.<sup>34</sup>

The specific reference to the climatic theory earlier in the tract is irrefutable evidence that Milton had that theory in mind when he wrote the *Areopagitica*, and that he was here specifically and with spirit denying the theory is, I think, obvious from the very adjectives he uses in describing both what the English are and what they are not. He describes his countrymen, in short, in terms exactly opposite to those employed in characterizing northern nations by believers in the climatic theory. Moreover, the assertion of the greatness and antiquity of English learning, with its recourse to the Druids,<sup>35</sup> reminds one of his vindication of English wits against proponents of the climatic theory in the *Mansus* and similar vindications in other writers.<sup>36</sup> Certainly, whatever may be the truth about *worst* and *worse*, the *Areopagitica* does not support the common generalizations about Milton's attitude toward the idea of the adverse effect of cold climates.

We have now to look at three later references to the influence of climate, all of which are different in tone from those which have been considered. In 1648 or thereabouts,<sup>37</sup> Milton wrote that *Character of the Long Parliament* which was originally a part of the Third Book of the *History of Britain*, but which he himself, as Firth suggests,<sup>38</sup> probably suppressed when the first edition went to the press in 1670, and which was not finally printed until 1681, when it appeared separately. In this occurs the following passage:

For Britain, to speak a truth not often spoken, as it is a land fruitful enough of men stout and courageous in war, so it is naturally not over-fertile of men able to govern justly and prudently in peace, trusting only in their mother-wit; who consider not justly, that civility, prudence, love of the public good, more than of money or vain honour, are to this soil in a manner outlandish; grow not here, but in minds well implanted with solid and elaborate breeding, too impolitic else and rude, if not headstrong and intractable to the industry and virtue either of executing or understanding true civil government. Valiant indeed, and prosperous to win a field; but to know the end and reason of winning, unjudicious and unwise: in good or bad success, alike unteachable. For the sun, which we want, ripens wits as well as fruits; and as wine and oil are imported to us

<sup>34</sup> *P. W.*, II, 90.

<sup>35</sup> The allusion to the Druids comes with the reference to Pythagoras. It was a common notion in the seventeenth century that this Greek philosopher had borrowed from them. See Jebb's notes in his edition, pp. 95-96.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Wright, *op. cit.*, sig. A5 recto.

<sup>37</sup> In 1647 or 1648 according to Sir Charles Firth (*op. cit.*, pp. 64, 95). This dating rests on the general tone and nature of the *Character*, the statement in the 1681 edition that it was originally a part of the Third Book of the *History of Britain*, and Milton's own statement that the first four books of the *History* were complete by the middle of March, 1649 (*P. W.*, I, 261).

<sup>38</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 100.

from abroad, so must ripe understanding, and many civil virtues, be imported into our minds from foreign writings, and examples of best ages: we shall else miscarry still, and come short in the attempts of any great enterprise.<sup>39</sup>

That Milton in the second half of the 1640's became profoundly disillusioned in the Presbyterians in whom he had earlier placed his hopes and who dominated Parliament until they were turned out by Pride's Purge on December 6, 1648, is generally recognized.<sup>40</sup> From this passage and from the general tenor of the *Character*, it is clear that this disappointment was responsible for making him come to feel in 1648 that the adverse effect of cold climates was more than just a theory. Writing as he was at a time when the rise of the Independents had not yet given him that new strong faith in the few which is already apparent in the tracts of 1649<sup>41</sup> and which culminated later in the eulogy to Cromwell in the *Second Defense*, he was apparently for the time, at least, forced back on the climatic theory as an explanation of the "ridiculous frustration" to which he felt that the Presbyterian leaders had brought the great reformation which he had labored to advance and on which he still had his heart set. It will be noted that his acceptance of the climatic theory at this time was very nearly without qualification. Because of their cold climate his countrymen were courageous enough,<sup>42</sup> no doubt, but impolitic, rude, headstrong, intractable, unteachable, unjudicious, unwise, lacking in civility and the political virtues. Nor do the few fare better at Milton's hands than the many. A few there are, he admits, who are exceptions to the rule, but he begins the passage with a comment on their rarity and ends with calling into question the adequacy of even their unaided "mother-wit." Moreover, it is clear that he viewed the effect of climate as a serious and very real obstacle in the way of his countrymen's achieving the new order for which he still hoped. But it is also clear that if such an obstacle had to be admitted, he had found a way of surmounting it. The acceptance of the climatic theory to which he had been driven did not, in short, cause him to lose hope. The *raison d'être*, indeed, of the whole *Character* was to show his Englishmen their shortcoming and to teach them what they needed to do if they would not "miscarry still" in great enterprises. This is obvious not only from the passage I have quoted, but also from Milton's statements in the first paragraph of the Third Book of the *History of Britain*,

<sup>39</sup> *P. W.*, V, 240.

<sup>40</sup> See the *Character* itself (*P. W.*, V, 235-41); *P. W.*, II, 3-5; I, 309-10, 313; and the sonnets "On the New Forcers of Conscience under the Long Parliament" and "On the Detraction Which Followed upon My Writing Certain Treatises."

<sup>41</sup> *P. W.*, II, 186, 5; I, 313.

<sup>42</sup> That northern climates made men courageous was as much a part of the climatic theory as that they made men dull-witted. See *supra*, p. 68, Bodin, *op. cit.*, p. 550; and Botero, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

the paragraph immediately preceding the point at which the *Character* is generally believed to have come in the original manuscript. He there tells us that his object in comparing his own and former times was to enable his countrymen to see and know themselves as they really were to the end that they would not, "puffed up with vulgar flatteries and encomiums, for want of self-knowledge . . . enterprise rashly . . . and come off miserably in great undertakings."<sup>43</sup> And what his countrymen needed to know was that, because of the natural political deficiencies which their climate had produced in them, they needed to import civil virtues from the "best ages" and those situated in more favorable climates. If they would do that, all could still be well.

We do not hear again directly of the climatic theory until the eulogy of Queen Christina in the *Second Defense*, in which Milton says that it excites his astonishment to see "a force of intellect so truly divine . . . in a region so remote; of which an atmosphere, so darkened with clouds, and so chilled with frosts, could not extinguish the light, nor repress the operations." He is surprised that the "rocky and barren soil, which is often as unfavorable to the growth of genius as of plants" had not impeded the maturation of Christina's faculties. "Henceforth," he exclaims, "the queen of the south will not be alone renowned in history, for there is a queen of the north . . . worthy to appear in the court of the wise king of the Jews, or any king of equal wisdom."<sup>44</sup> These remarks, like those of 1648, clearly show Milton unable to shake off the notion of climatic influence; but it is also obvious that he had climbed out of the slough of despond he was in regarding that theory when he wrote the *Character*, for there are important qualifications. If the adverse effect of northern climates had to be admitted, the example of Christina was proof that some, at least, in the cold air could equal the best that southern countries produced. Such climatic conditions as prevailed in her country were only "often" deleterious to the flowering of the mind.<sup>45</sup> Genius could, in some cases at least, flourish in the cold north. The thought, I think, meant much to Milton, for there is evidence that he was not in the early 1650's without some doubts as to his powers, doubts which may well have been associated with the somewhat increased hold which the theory had apparently had on him since 1648.<sup>46</sup> But was the example of Christina the sole explanation for the lightening of this hold by 1654? I think not. A potent factor, certainly the main one, must have been the fact

<sup>43</sup> *P. W.*, V, 235.

<sup>44</sup> *P. W.*, I, 250.

<sup>45</sup> Other English writers who felt compelled to admit the force of the climatic theory resorted to similar ideas as a way of escaping from its full implications. See especially Wright, *op. cit.*, sig. A7 verso; Barclay, *op. cit.*, ch. x.

<sup>46</sup> *P. W.*, I, 4-5.



that though they were on the verge of disappointing him, the Independent leaders had given him new hope in the political capacities of at least the few in northern countries.

Milton's final specific pronouncement on the climatic theory comes after the Restoration. "Higher argument" than that of the other epic poets remains to him, he tells us in the Ninth Book of *Paradise Lost*, unless "an age too late or cold climate" or his own advancing years damp his intended wing.<sup>47</sup> The conditional form of the statement reminds one of the passage in *The Reason of Church Government*,<sup>48</sup> but there is one important difference. Refuse though Milton may to make a flat statement of the harmful effect of cold climates, he is constrained to admit of the factors which may interfere with his achieving his poetical aims that—

much they may, if all be mine,  
Not Hers who brings it nightly to my Ear.<sup>49</sup>

One gathers not only that the idea of the adverse effect of cold climates was still with him, but that its hold upon him was definitely more considerable than it had been in 1642.

In addition to these specific references, there is further evidence which must be surveyed before any conclusion is possible. In the first place, Milton's conviction that the English were a divinely favored people who were destined to lead others, not follow them, an idea fundamentally in conflict with the climatic theory, is by no means confined in his writings to the period before 1648. It is, instead, prominent in both the *First* and *Second Defenses*.<sup>50</sup> Moreover, there are numerous passages written after 1648 in which it is clear that he was far from being willing to admit that his Englishmen had natural deficiencies. Within a year after the writing of the *Character of the Long Parliament*, we find him in the *Eikonoklastes* assailing his countrymen for "a besotted and degenerate baseness of spirit," and implying that he may be forced to change his opinion of their natural capacities, but saying that he cannot willingly ascribe their shortcomings "to the natural disposition of an Englishman." Rather does he find the explanation in the fact that they had been misled by the prelates and other false leaders.<sup>51</sup> More specific is a passage in the *First Defense* in which he says that the English "need not allege the examples of foreigners for their justification." Their laws are "the best in the world. . . . They were born free, they stand in need of no other nation, they can make what laws they please for their own good government."<sup>52</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Lines 41-45.

<sup>48</sup> *Supra*, note 26.

<sup>49</sup> Lines 46-47.

<sup>50</sup> *P. W.*, I, 212, 220.

<sup>51</sup> *P. W.*, I, 313.

<sup>52</sup> *P. W.*, I, 210.

I conclude that until the second half of the 1640's, although Milton had some misgivings as a result of the climatic theory, they were in conflict with his conviction that the English were a specially favored race and he had no great difficulty in shaking them off. Perhaps the "Lords and commons" passage in the *Areopagitica* was given an added touch of vehemence by the fact that he was half angry at himself for having any misgivings at all. It is also clear that his disappointment in the Presbyterians forced him back on the climatic theory in 1648 at a time when his confidence in the Independent leaders was not yet sufficiently strong to cause his hopes to soar anew, and that after that date the theory had a stronger hold on his mind. But it was not a complete hold. He was still capable on occasion of denying the whole idea and asserting the primacy of Englishmen. One gathers that the hold of the notion on him varied in strength as his hopes rose or fell for his countrymen. This being the case, it is hard to believe that in the period after the Restoration and indeed for a time before it, he was not again driven toward the almost wholly unqualified acceptance he had given the theory in 1648. Yet even in *Paradise Lost* the shadow of a doubt found expression.

An important question remains. Were there any long-time or ultimate effects of importance as a result of the increased though still imperfect acceptance of the notion after 1648? I believe that there were both as regards his political hopes and his poetical ambitions. Let us look first at the former. For all that Milton says in the *First Defense* that the English did not need imported models, that their own ancestors had furnished them with models equal to any, and for all that he frequently asserts the primacy of his countrymen, it is clear that he always, even when his faith in his Englishmen was highest, was of the opinion that they would do well to imitate "the best ages," that is, the Greek and Roman republics.<sup>53</sup> Now it is clear from the *Character of the Long Parliament* that the

<sup>53</sup> Even in the *Areopagitica* he urges the imitation of the "old and elegant humanity of Greece" (*P. W.* II, 52); and that his republicanism was motivated not a little by a desire to build "Rome anew in the west" cannot be questioned in view of his frequent allusions to it. In the 1650's Rome was ever before his eyes as a model. See the comparison of Vane to a Roman senator in the sonnet addressed to him and the extraordinary passage in the *Second Defense* on the likeness of Fairfax to Scipio and the "heroes of antiquity" (*P. W.* I, 287). See also *P. W.* I, 219, 297. Cf. the remark in Aubrey's *Brief Lives* that it was Milton's "being so conversant in Livy and the Roman authors, and the greatness he saw done by the Roman Commonwealth" that made him into a republican (ed. Andrew Clark [Oxford, 1898, 2 vols.], II, 69); and Hobbes's opinion in the *Leviathan* that among his contemporaries one of the most potent causes of republicanism was "the reading of the books of policy and histories of the ancient Greeks and Romans" (Pt. II, ch. xxix).



effect of his being driven to the climatic theory in 1648 was to increase the need for imported "civil wisdom." Moreover, the fact that the models to which he looked were situated in the warm south doubtless gave to them added significance and value. Now I think that his greater, even though fluctuating, respect for the climatic theory after 1648 may well have had a long-time effect in increasing for him the value and importance of imported and especially southern political institutions, and when he was at last driven back on such institutions<sup>54</sup> by his own disappointment with such native ones as periodically elected parliaments<sup>55</sup> and protectorates<sup>56</sup> in *The Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth*, climatic considerations may well have been an element—I do not say the only one, or even the chief one—in the extraordinary confidence which he places in his imported institutions.<sup>57</sup> I say extraordinary confidence because the grandiose and four-times repeated aim of the tract is to set up a perfectly constructed commonwealth

<sup>54</sup> The central feature of *The Ready and Easy Way* is a perpetual grand council based on Venetian, Roman, and other models (*P. W.*, II, 124). On the Venetian influence in the tract see my article on "Venice and English Political Thought in the Seventeenth Century," *Modern Philology*, XXXVIII (1940), 155-172. Milton was by no means the only Englishman who sought the solution of a permanent governmental settlement in England in "imported institutions." See Sir Charles Firth, *The Last Years of the Protectorate* (London, 1909, 2 vols.), I, 68. Harrington's *Oceana*, of course, is a monument to such endeavors.

<sup>55</sup> *P. W.*, II, 122; cf. I, 297. Additional evidence is afforded by the *Proposals for a Firme Government*, written about the same time as *The Ready and Easy Way*. The very word *parliament* had come to have unfortunate connotations for Milton and he wished to abolish it (*Works*, Columbia ed., XVIII, 4).

<sup>56</sup> *The Ready and Easy Way* is unequivocal on this point (*P. W.*, II, 118). Milton wanted a protectorate no more than a monarchy. See E. M. Clark's remarks in his edition of the tract (New Haven, 1915), p. xxxv, and Gooch's acute observations in his *English Democratic Ideas in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1898), p. 244.

<sup>57</sup> There are indeed in *The Ready and Easy Way* some bits of evidence which might lead to a different conclusion. For one thing, Milton alludes to the possibility that the English because of their "watery situation" may have a certain fickleness or "fluxible fault." This idea, which apparently traces back to Plato (*Laws*, 4, 704) and which Bodin discusses (*op. cit.*, p. 564), is of course different from the one with which we are here concerned, but it does involve the influence of climate, and it might be considered indicative of a general skepticism on Milton's part regarding climatic influences that he remarks that if such a fault exists, it can be corrected by "good education and acquiste wisdom" (*P. W.*, II, 124). It may also be pointed out that in one place Milton refers in a deprecatory manner to "exotic models" (*P. W.*, II, 127). But this evidence is not convincing. It is more than doubtful whether any analogical argument based on the reference to a "fluxible fault" is admissible, for this notion never had any such partial hold on Milton as did the cold climate theory. As for the deprecation of "exotic models," it can only be said that Milton's very proposals belie his own words.

which would continue without change or decay even to the end of the world.<sup>58</sup>

I turn, lastly, to the long-time effect which the climatic theory had on Milton's poetical ambitions. Long before 1648 he had expressed his conviction that poetical abilities of the highest order are "the inspired gift of God, rarely bestowed, but yet to some (though most abuse) in every nation."<sup>59</sup> How much more essential this idea must have become to him in the dark days after the Restoration when what seemed to be the political failure of his countrymen may well have confirmed his worst fears about the climatic theory and caused him to despair of his own unaided powers. Certain it is that *Paradise Lost* shows him holding fast to the idea of divine inspiration. No one can read the poem with its numerous appeals for divine assistance, conventional in form though they are, and think for one minute that Milton did not believe in the reality of divine help or that such a belief was not one of the great sustaining forces in his performance of it. Supported by this, even the singer in the dull north could "soar above the Aonian Mount" and pursue

Things unattempted yet in Prose or Rhyme.

Milton says as much in the introductory passage to Book IX. He will admit, be it remembered, that cold climate may much damp his intended wing only

if all be mine,  
Not Hers who brings it nightly to my Ear.<sup>60</sup>

I conclude that the ultimate effect of the climatic theory on Milton's poetical ambitions was to emphasize, and make him more dependent upon, the idea of divine inspiration which he had inherited from the Renaissance and which was indeed congenial to his mind.

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<sup>58</sup> *P. W.*, II, 113, 121, 124, 127. The idea of a perpetually healthy state was not peculiar to Milton. It is basic in Harrington's *Oceana* (ed. Liljegren [Heidelberg, 1924], pp. 185-86). For the connection of the idea with the contemporary reputation of Venice see my article referred to in note 54.

<sup>59</sup> *P. W.*, II, 479.

<sup>60</sup> Lines 46-47.

SPENSER, THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, AND  
SHELLEY'S *QUEEN MAB*

By CARLOS BAKER

In determining the sources of Shelley's *Queen Mab* scholars have paid considerable attention to such documents as Godwin's *Political Justice*, Volney's *Ruins of Empires*, and Lawrence's *Empire of the Nairs*. Even such relatively obscure treatises as the Abbé Barruel's *Mémoires* and Pierre Cabanis' *Rapports* have been examined and placed in their proper relationship to the poem.<sup>1</sup> There is nothing illogical about the direction which criticism has taken, for Shelley's "long, philosophical, and anti-Christian" notes invite exposition and refutation, while his letters to the publisher Thomas Hookham show that he expected the poem to shock most profoundly the England of 1813.<sup>2</sup>

Although Shelley's prose sources have been thus investigated, no critic has determined the extent of Shelley's debt to eighteenth-century poetry, with the result that the origins of the poetical vocabulary and allegorical framework of *Queen Mab* have remained obscure. In a preface to the Shelley Society's facsimile reprint of *Alastor* (1886), p. xii, Dobell remarks, interestingly enough, that "in *Queen Mab* Shelley treads in the footsteps of his predecessors and contemporaries, so far at least as the structure of his versification and the selection of his images and metaphors are concerned." Dobell does not state what predecessors and what contemporaries he has in mind. Wittily but unfairly, Mrs. O. W. Campbell condemns the poem as "just such a hotchpotch as Shelley was bound to produce for his sins. What little imagination and feeling it has is stifled by proselytism and prejudice; its occasional music is set to the thumping of a tub. . . . In this strange setting of mincing eighteenth-century verse mixed with revolutionary war-cries, Shelley's feelings are as utterly obscured as his imagination."<sup>3</sup>

Most of his tub-thumping Shelley relegates to the notes. The verse, though obviously imitative, is often of far higher quality than Mrs. Campbell would admit, for much of it is based on pieces like Pope's *Messiah* and *Essay on Man*, Gray's *Elegy*, and Thomson's

<sup>1</sup> D. J. MacDonald, *The Radicalism of Shelley and its Sources* (Washington, D. C., 1912); L. Kellner, "Shelley's *Queen Mab* und Volney's *Les Ruines*," *ESL*, XXII (1896), 9-40; W. E. Peck, "Shelley's Indebtedness to Sir Thomas Lawrence," *MLN*, XL (1925), 246-9. Peck's confusion of Sir Thomas and Sir James Lawrence is apparently an oversight. See also W. E. Peck, "Shelley and the Abbé Barruel," *PMLA*, XXXVI (1921), 347-53; and I. J. Kapstein, "Shelley and Cabanis," *PMLA*, LII (1937), 238-43.

<sup>2</sup> Shelley, *Letters* (Julian edition) IX, 56-7. See also IX, 19, 42.

<sup>3</sup> O. W. Campbell, *Shelley and the Unromantics* (London, 1924), p. 114.

*Seasons*. The nature and extent of these borrowings will be indicated below. The evidence is important in showing for the first time the direct influence of neo-classical poetry upon the early work of Shelley.

Also worthy of notice is the fact that *Queen Mab* is the earliest of Shelley's poems to contain evidence that Shelley knew Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. But the problem of Shelley's debt to Spenser is complicated because Spenserian imagery frequently reached Shelley at second hand, strained through the verse of Spenserian imitators of the eighteenth century. Shelley's imagery may come direct from Spenser; on the other hand it may come through men like Thomson, West, Beatty, or a host of lesser writers, all of whom steeped their heads in the Spenserian spring or drank of its waters as an artificial aid to inspiration. It is not surprising that Shelley should have drawn upon Spenser's imitators even after he had become acquainted with Spenser at first hand. Professor Cory has pointed out that Coleridge's youthful Spenserian imitations are "almost purely neo-classical," while Keats's *Imitation of Spenser* is "quite Augustan despite his early love for Spenser himself."<sup>4</sup>

Although we shall find in *Queen Mab* certain lines which are directly indebted to Spenser, the poem owes most to the eighteenth century, and the department of neo-classical poetry to which the poem bears the strongest generic resemblance is the Spenserian allegory, a kind which had attained great popularity in the eighteenth century, and of which specimens were still appearing in Shelley's day.<sup>5</sup>

To the phenomenon of generic resemblance Shelley's later critical writings give some prominence. He sees no reason why both conscious and unconscious imitation should not play a part in the creative process. "One great poet is a masterpiece of Nature which another not only ought to study but must study," he writes in the preface to *Prometheus Unbound*. "As to imitation," he continues, "poetry is a mimetic art. It creates, but it creates by combination and representation." In the preface to his *Revolt of Islam* he had been equally frank. "The poetry of ancient Greece and Rome, and

<sup>4</sup> H. E. Cory, "Spenser, Thomson, and Romanticism," *PMLA*, XXVI (1911), 73. The same blend of Spenserian and eighteenth-century characteristics can be seen in Byron's *Childe Harold*, cantos I and II.

<sup>5</sup> For an extensive list of these imitations of Spenser, see Cory, pp. 51-91, and Traugott Böhme, "Spenser's Literarisches Nachleben bis zu Shelley," *Palaestra*, XCIII (Berlin, 1911), 125-220. A good discussion of the incidence of the Spenserian stanza in the eighteenth century has been written by E. P. Morton, *MP*, X (1913), 365-91. The more prominent parodies of Spenser are mentioned by R. P. Bond, *English Burlesque Poetry 1700-1750* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932), p. 172.

modern Italy, and our own country has been to me . . . a passion and an enjoyment. Such are the sources from which the materials for imagery of [*The Revolt of Islam*] have been drawn."

In the matter of unconscious imitation he is no less explicit. "There must be a resemblance, which does not depend upon their own will, between all the writers of any particular age. They cannot escape from subjection to a common influence. . . ." Shelley's faith in the *Zeitgeist* is surely substantiated in *Queen Mab*. The revolutionary spirit of his own age partly determined the political and social ideas which Shelley introduced into his poem. It was, however, the literary spirit of an age just past which determined the "sentiment, imagery and expression" of Shelley's poem. *Queen Mab* is a late example of the Spenserian allegory of the eighteenth century.

# I.

Despite its defiance of bourgeois morality, Shelley's poem is highly moral and highly didactic. In casting down the old idols, Shelley wished only to substitute for them a morality of his own devising. It was his belief that politics is only ethics applied to the larger units of the Church or State.<sup>6</sup> The purpose of *Queen Mab* is at once to point out existing evils, and to suggest ethical reforms which will lead to social justice.

The poem achieves its purpose by employing the allegorical method. The very fact that a dialogue between Vice and Falsehood occurs in the notes to the poem proves that Shelley was thinking in allegorical terms. There are other personifications of abstractions in the body of the poem: Time the conquerer (IX, 23, 138-9); Selfishness (V, 22, 187, 249); Falsehood (V, 197; VI, 48). Böhme regards these figures as Spenserian (*Spenser's Nachleben*, pp. 295-6). It is only because the central figures in the poem are called by unusual proper names that their kinship with typical allegorical figures has been concealed. Queen Mab, for example, is the potent and omniscient Daemon of the World. Her palace is described as a "fitting temple" for the spirit of nature. Ianthe's spirit is the virtuous soul, for whose edification the veil of false propaganda is ripped from the face of the earth. That fool "whom courtiers nickname monarch" is the personification of Tyranny, just as Ahasuerus, despite his particularized name, is the spiritual essence of all those who have been crushed beneath the heel of Church and State. But for its new nomenclature, and its greater scope, *Queen Mab* would long ago have taken its place in literary history—perhaps under the name of *The Palace of Nature*—with all those other Palaces, Cas-

<sup>6</sup> *Letters*, VIII, 235. Jan. 7, 1812.

tles, Temples, and Houses of Nature, Fame, Pleasure, Indolence, Disease, and Superstition which had attained so much popularity among Shelley's predecessors.

There can be no doubt that Spenser exercised a strong influence over the eighteenth-century moral allegory. Though Dr. Johnson found the Spenserian style to be vicious and the stanza tiresome,<sup>7</sup> Spenser's virtues as a metrical technician were in most quarters fully recognized. The critic might deplore structural irregularities in *The Faerie Queene* or object to padding within the line, but he usually admitted that Spenser was irregularly great, and sometimes preferred him to Pope. The case for Spenser is well-stated in Thomas Warton's *Pleasures of Melancholy* (1747).<sup>8</sup> Pope's "Attic page" is adorned with "happiest art," but Warton confesses that his own mind glows "with sweeter transport" as he follows the adventures of Una in "magic Spenser's wildly-warbled song." Spenser's warblings did not, of course, drown out the more restrained song of Pope. The heroic couplet valiantly withstood the combined assault of blank verse and Spenserian stanza. In his *Essay on the Prevailing Taste in Poetry* thirty years after Warton's poem, Vicesimus Knox observes the enmity which divides the lovers and imitators of Spenser and Milton from those of Dryden, Boileau, and Pope. "Let both schools flourish and receive their due applause, nor let those who have only acquired a taste for one treat the other with contempt."<sup>9</sup>

By at least one of Knox's schools Spenser was admired as a moral allegorist of the first rank. Hughes' edition (1715) doubtless did much to further his reputation, and anyone proposing to allegorize must do so with an eye to Spenser's achievement. "Custom," wrote Leigh Hunt in 1802, "has long established the manner of Spenser as a model for Allegorical Composition. . . . Vide West's *Education* and Thomson's *Castle of Indolence*. Pope's *Temple of Fame* is the only exception to the general rule the Author ever met with."<sup>10</sup>

One of the many editorial ventures of John Bell the publisher was a sixteen-volume anthology of eighteenth-century verse, the so-called *Classical Arrangement of Fugitive Poetry* which was appearing in Shelley's boyhood (1789-1800). The abundance of Spenserian allegories is attested by the fact that two of these volumes are devoted almost exclusively to imitations of Spenser. Besides the Cas-

<sup>7</sup> *Rambler* No. 121. *Works*, ed. Hawkins (London, 1787), VI, 325-6.

<sup>8</sup> See *The British Poets* (Chiswick, 1822), LXVIII, 61.

<sup>9</sup> Vicesimus Knox, *Essays Moral and Literary*, 12th edition (N. Y., 1793), II, 179-80.

<sup>10</sup> Leigh Hunt, *Juvenilia, or a Collection of Poems written between the ages of 12 and 16* (London, 1802), pp. 153-4.

tle of *Indolence* and West's *Education* we may number among the relatives of *Queen Mab* such allegories as Thomas Denton's *House of Superstition* (1762); W. J. Mickle's *The Concubine* (1767); and Leigh Hunt's *Palace of Pleasure* (1802), all of them employing the Spenserian stanza. Written in blank verse, but paying tribute to Spenser by name and by stylistic imitation is William Thompson's *Sickness* (1745), a poem in five books, one of which is called *The Palace of Disease*. Sir William Jones's *Palace of Fortune* (1769), written in heroic couplets, Hunt might have mentioned as a palpable imitation of Pope's *Temple of Fame*. Also in heroic couplets, but allegorically closer to Spenser than to Pope, was Erasmus Darwin's *Temple of Nature* (1803).

Among all these poems and *Queen Mab* we may detect a strong generic resemblance. Subject matter will naturally determine some details of plot and structure. Yet the characteristics of the whole group, not excepting Pope's *Temple of Fame* and Volney's prose *Ruins*, but excluding *The Castle of Indolence*, are covered by the following description. The poet or his muse, or some male and female protagonist, dreams that he enters a palace by himself or is conducted thither by a goddess or sage. The manner of transportation is sometimes specified, sometimes not; the position of the palace is usually high above the earth. Once there, the central figure (now a direct participant, now merely a spectator) learns a lesson through the agency of allegorical personages. The moral having been inculcated, the chastened or enlightened visitor returns to earth, though occasionally the author, if intent on the moral lesson, may leave him nodding in his aerial situation.

It is usually asserted that Volney's *Ruins* and Sir William Jones's *Palace of Fortune* were the primary sources for the framework of *Queen Mab*. The direct influence of neither work is to be doubted. Yet most of the basic elements in the plot of *Queen Mab* can be duplicated in two or more of the eighteenth-century allegories before us. Exclusive of metaphysical and sociological ideas, the outline of Shelley's poem is as follows: Queen Mab, an omniscient spirit, descends in a magic car to the bedside of the sleeping maiden Ianthe. Disengaging Ianthe's soul from her body, which continues in sleep, Mab conducts her fellow-spirit to a magnificent palace in the sky from whose battlements they look down upon the little globe of earth while Mab elucidates the secrets of past, present, and future time. It is because of her virtue, sincerity, and hatred of custom that Ianthe's soul is permitted this reward. The only speakers besides the queen and the soul are two figures called up by Mab's wand. The king represents the evils of temporal power; Ahasuerus explains the evils of religious tyranny. Having given the soul reason



to hope that in the future these evils will be eradicated, Mab sends her back to earth, there to awake while a lover kneels beside her couch in silence.

Perhaps the sex of the central characters is an important element here. Shelley agrees with Jones and Darwin in employing females. Mab's hierophantic powers are shared by Volney's Genius and Darwin's Nature-spirit.<sup>11</sup> The device of sketching in the characteristics of past and future is to be found in Volney, Darwin, Denton, West, and also in Pope's *Messiah*.<sup>12</sup> Koepfel has pointed out that Jones's goddess of fortune is like Mab in that each waves her wand thrice; Leigh Hunt's goddess of pleasure is also given to the gesture.<sup>13</sup> Ianthe is chosen because of her virtue and sincerity. This detail is duplicated in Volney, Darwin and Jones.<sup>14</sup> The prototype of Mab's car, drawn by celestial coursers, can be found not only in Jones, but also in Southey's *Thalaba* and *Kehama*, where people are always being carried off in magic vehicles.<sup>15</sup> Descriptions of palaces not unlike Mab's may be found in Pope, Southey, Jones, Darwin, Hunt, and Spenser, though Shelley's palace is more diaphanous than any of the others.<sup>16</sup> The little spot of earth, visible to the far observer, is a convenient piece of stage property in Pope, Volney, Thomson's *Castle of Indolence*, and Shelley, and behind them all in Chaucer.<sup>17</sup>

In connection with the last of these devices, Dr. Peck has pointed out a passage in Volney in which the traveller and the Genius look down upon the earth. "Observing these clouds," says Volney, "I perceived that they were preceded or followed by swarms of

<sup>11</sup> Volney, *Ruins*, chapters III-V. Darwin, *Temple of Nature*, I, 206.

<sup>12</sup> Volney, *Ruins*, chapters VI, XIII, XV; Darwin, III, 37-40; Denton, *House of Superstition*, contrast stanzas II-X with stanzas XI-XIII; West, *Education*, compare Britannia's picture of past evils (I, lxxiv-lxxviii) and her picture of the future (I, lxxxvi-xc); Pope, *Messiah*, lines 55-90.

<sup>13</sup> Jones, *Palace of Fortune*, line 364. See Koepfel, *EST*, XXVIII (1900), 48; Hunt, *Palace of Pleasure*, I, xxxviii.

<sup>14</sup> Volney, chapter IV: "Young man, since your heart searches after truth with sincerity . . . I will display to your view this truth." Darwin, I, 53-6: Only the good and wise are admitted to Nature's temple. Jones, line 129: Although Maia has been guilty of false pride, she is called "fav'rite of heaven."

<sup>15</sup> Jones, lines 27-37; *Thalaba*, IV, 37; VIII, 34-5; *Kehama*, VI, 7; VII, 1-7; XI, 12.

<sup>16</sup> Pope, *Temple of Fame*, lines 25-30, 61-144; *Kehama*, VII, 10; Jones, lines 99-126; Darwin, I, 65-82; Hunt, I, xviii; Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, II, ix, 44-7.

<sup>17</sup> Pope, *Temple of Fame*, lines 11-20; Volney, chapter IV; Thomson, I, xlix; Shelley, I, 250-1; Chaucer, *House of Fame*, II, 904-7. Even Milton's Satan (*Paradise Lost*, III, 541-3)

That scald'd by steps of Gold to Heav'n Gate  
Looks down with wonder at the sudden view  
Of all this World at once.

living beings which, like ants disturbed by the foot of a passenger, were in lively action." A similar sight is thus described in *Queen Mab* (II, 100-1):

The thronging thousands, to a passing view,  
Seemed like an anthill's citizens.

The inhabitants of Thomson's *Castle of Indolence*, however, amuse themselves by gazing into a magic globe, where they see

all things that do pass  
Upon this anthill earth, where constantly  
Of idly busy men the restless fry  
Run bustling to and fro with foolish haste.<sup>18</sup>

One would not like to insist too emphatically that such poets as Denton, West, Mickle, and William Thompson were known to Shelley during the composition of *Queen Mab*. But the point is clear that nearly every detail of machinery in Shelley's poem had ample precedent in the moral allegories of the eighteenth century.

Furthermore, most of the institutions and malpractices attacked in *Queen Mab* had been attacked in allegories or moral epistles some decades before Shelley was born. According to *Queen Mab*, Custom has been responsible for keeping despotic rulers on the thrones of the world. "The unconquered powers Of precedent and custom interpose Between a king and virtue" (III, 98). West's *Education* describes a battle in which a knight overthrows the giant Custom, whom he subsequently releases. The genius of Britain later gives the knight advice in which Shelley would have concurred (*Education*, I, lxxxiii):

You chiefly who like me in secret mourne  
The prevalence of Custom lewd and vaine . . .  
Yet nourish in your hearts the generous love  
Of piety and truth, no more restrain  
The manly zeal, but all your sinews move  
The present to reclaim, the future race improve.

Again, Shelley attacks venality, cupidity, and selfishness as the foes of love (V, 177-96). The burden of Mickle's *Concubine* is that love is sold in the interests of sensualism and cupidity, a thesis which is proved by the woeful example of one Sir Martyn, whose affair with a milkmaid gives her the chance to transfer his patrimony to her own name, while Martyn is led by Dissipation to the Cave of Discontent where his "hoarie age" is passed in grief.

None of Shelley's commentators has suggested that he might have known the work of William Thompson. Some reason to think

<sup>18</sup> W. E. Peck, *Shelley, His Life and Work*, I, 316. Volney, chapter XII. Thomson, *Castle of Indolence*, I, xlix.

that he did is to be found in one of Mab's diatribes against war as an accompaniment of religious persecution (VI, 113-19):

The cries  
Of millions butchered in sweet confidence  
And unsuspecting peace, even when the bonds  
Of safety were confirmed with wordy oaths  
Sworn in his dreadful name, rung through the land;  
*Whilst innocent babes writhed on thy stubborn spear,*  
*And thou didst laugh to hear the mother's shriek. . . .*

After pointing out that it was a monk who by his invention of gun-powder taught us how to kill, the fifth book of Thompson's *Sickness* (1745) adds that

Man, courageous in his guilt,  
*Smiles at the infant writhing on his spear.*<sup>19</sup>

The obvious similarity of expression is perhaps no ground for concluding that Shelley had read Thompson's poem. But it is at least an interesting coincidence that the name Ianthe, which is nowhere to be found in the poetical works of Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, Pope, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Burns, or Gray, happens to be the name of the heroine in Thompson's poem. Direct borrowing from Thompson may be no more than a strong possibility, however, for the name Ianthe occurs in Ovid and in Hesiod, and had put in a rather more recent appearance as that of the lady to whom Landor addressed love-lyrics in his *Simonidea* volume of 1806.<sup>20</sup>

A rough parallel to Shelley's attack on the priesthood and the organized church is to be found in Denton's *House of Superstition* (1762) where the poet depicts past and present evils in the Church, foreseeing, like Shelley, a time when Truth will usher in the millenary year.

Other parallelisms of idea or imagery could be adduced, but these will perhaps suffice to show that the earlier Spenser imitations are generically close to *Queen Mab*, which not only employs the characteristic allegorical method for the inculcation of moral ideas, but also employs good eighteenth-century machinery and imagery in achieving its purpose.

## II.

*Queen Mab* is indebted also to a number of non-Spenserian poems of the eighteenth century. It has not, I think, been remarked

<sup>19</sup> Thompson, V, 89-90. *British Poets* (Chiswick, 1822), LIV, 74.

<sup>20</sup> Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, IX, 715 ff., *passim*; Hesiod, *Theogony*, line 349. The Homeric Hymns, II, 418, also mention Ianthe. Byron's stanzas to Ianthe (Lady Charlotte Harley) which preface *Childe Harold* were written in 1812 but remained unprinted until 1814, when they appeared as dedicatory verses to the seventh edition of Cantos I and II.

before that Shelley owes ten lines of his poem to Gray's *Elegy*. Yet he had been acquainted with Gray's work since childhood. In respect to Shelley's singularly retentive memory, Hellen Shelley says that "even as a little child, Gray's lines on the Cat and the Gold Fish were repeated, word for word, after once reading."<sup>21</sup> He must have known the *Elegy* quite as well. Probably a school exercise was the Latin version of the epitaph from the *Elegy* which now appears among Shelley's juvenilia.<sup>22</sup> According to another Etonian, Walter Halliday, one of Shelley's favorite rambles out of school hours was "Stoke Park, and the picturesque churchyard where Gray is said to have written his *Elegy*, of which [Shelley] was very fond."<sup>23</sup> The poet seems to have continued the pastime of visiting places connected with the *Elegy*. From Marlow in the summer of 1817, Shelley, Godwin, and Peacock walked to those spots in the Chiltern district of Bucks "which were consecrated by the memories of Cromwell, Hampden, and Milton."<sup>24</sup> It was precisely the stanza of the *Elegy* in which this famous triumvirate appears which Shelley chose to imitate in *Queen Mab*. "Chill penury," says Gray, "is to be blamed if

Some village Hampden that with dauntless breast  
The little tyrant of his fields withstood,  
Some mute, inglorious Milton here may rest,  
Some Cromwell guiltless of his country's blood."

"The iron rod of penury," says Shelley (*Queen Mab*, V, 127-28), "still compels Her wretched slave to bow the knee to wealth," and presently continues

How many a rustic Milton has passed by,  
Stifling the speechless longings of his heart,  
In unremitting drudgery and care!  
How many a vulgar Cato has compelled  
His energies, no longer tameless then  
To mould a pin or fabricate a nail!  
How many a Newton, to whose passive ken  
Those mighty spheres that gem infinity  
Were only specks of tinsel fixed in heaven  
To light the midnights of his native town!

About a year before *Queen Mab* was finished, Shelley wrote a humble letter to Godwin in which he hoped that their association would assist him in acquiring "sobriety of spirit." "I have not heard without benefit," he says, "that Newton was a modest man. . . . But I think there is a line to be drawn between affectation of unpossessed

<sup>21</sup> Hogg, *Life of P. B. Shelley* (London, 1858), I, 9.

<sup>22</sup> Medwin, *Life of P. B. Shelley* (London, 1847), I, 48.

<sup>23</sup> Hogg, *op. cit.*, I, 43.

<sup>24</sup> Carl Van Doren, *The Life of Thomas Love Peacock* (N. Y., 1911), p. 69.

talents and the deceit of self-distrust, by which much power has been lost to the world; for

Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,  
And waste its sweetness on the desert air."<sup>25</sup>

The letter here quoted may be the verbal record of one of those combinations in the creative process which drew Newton and the passage from Gray closer and closer in Shelley's mind until they finally merged in the stanza of *Queen Mab*.

Alexander Pope, too, appears in the poem under a thin disguise. In 1811, Shelley praised the *Essay on Man* (*Letters*, VIII, 33), and his notes to *Queen Mab* quote the third epistle (165-8). It is in the course of this *Essay* (Epistle I, 83-4) that Pope employs the illustration of the lamb, doomed to slaughter for man's gustatory pleasure.

Pleased to the last, he crops the flowery food,  
And licks the hand just raised to shed his blood.

It is no surprise to find Shelley echoing these lines during an argument favoring vegetarianism (*Queen Mab*, VIII, 212-13).

[Man] slays the lamb that looks him in the face  
And horribly devours his mangled flesh.

Professor Newman I. White's recent book on Shelley and his contemporary critics reprints an accusation by one of them that Shelley plagiarized from Pope's *Messiah*.<sup>26</sup> Apparently unaware of the early accusation and therefore of the connection between *Queen Mab* and the *Messiah*, Dr. Peck (*Life*, I, 332) has said that it was possibly "from the book of Isaiah" that Shelley drew his picture (*Queen Mab*, VIII, 84-87) of

A babe before his mother's door  
Sharing his morning's meal  
With the green and golden basilisk  
That comes to lick his feet.

A comparison of the three passages shows, however, that Shelley's contemporary, and not Dr. Peck, was right. Isaiah 11:6-8 reads,

And the suckling child shall play on the hole of the aspe, and the weaned child shall put his hand on the cockatrice den.

<sup>25</sup> *Letters*, VIII, 243. Jan. 16, 1812.

<sup>26</sup> N. I. White, *The Unextinguished Hearth* (Durham, N. C., 1938), p. 64. The accusation occurs in *An Answer to Queen Mab* (1821), perhaps by William Johnson Fox, a small volume not readily available which has been conveniently reprinted by Professor White.

But Pope's *Messiah* describes a time when "harmless serpents lick the pilgrim's feet," and when (lines 81-4)

The smiling infant in his hand shall take  
The crested basilisk and speckled snake,  
Pleas'd, the green lustre of the scales survey,  
And with their forked tongues shall innocently play.

Both Pope and Shelley wisely limit themselves to one child in place of the Biblical pair. Pope has altered Isaiah's *cockatrice* into *basilisk*, and has added the detail of the green lustre of the scales. Shelley follows Pope in using the word *basilisk*, while Pope's *green lustre* easily becomes *green and golden* in Shelley. In Pope's poem, "harmless serpents lick the pilgrim's feet." But Shelley, omitting snakes and pilgrims, transfers the footlicking to the basilisk and the feet to the child. Finally Shelley has added the details of the doorway and the child's breakfast.

It should be further remarked that *Queen Mab*, VIII, 70-81, closely follows lines 67-79 in the *Messiah*. We may observe in passing that another passage from the *Essay on Man* (I, 199-200),

Or quick effluvia darting through the brain,  
Die of a rose in aromatic pain. . . .

found a place some years later in *Epipsychidion* (lines 451-2)

And dart their arrowy odor through the brain  
Till you might faint with that delicious pain. . . .

Both poets, of course, are talking about flowers.<sup>27</sup>

The influence of Thomson's *Seasons* is also apparent in *Queen Mab*. Although Shelley's letters nowhere mention Thomson or his work, a passage from the *Seasons* (*Spring*, lines 988-90) had already appeared in the thirteenth chapter of *Zastrozzi*, and it is evident that Shelley was acquainted with *Winter* and *Summer*, as well.

An extended and unmistakable paraphrase of Thomson occurs in section VIII, 145-55:

Man, where the gloom of the long polar night  
Lowers o'er the snow-clad rocks and frozen soil,  
Where scarce the hardiest herb that braves the frost  
Basks in the moonlight's ineffectual glow,  
Shrank with the plants, and darkened with the night;  
His chilled and narrow energies, his heart  
Insensible to courage, truth or love,  
His stunted nature and imbecile frame,  
Marked him for some abortion of the earth,  
Fit compeer of the bears that roamed around,  
Whose habits and enjoyments were his own.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. also *Prometheus Unbound* (II, ii, 39-40)

Sounds overflow the listener's brain  
So sweet, that joy is almost pain.

The notion that the sunless gloom of polar regions stunts plant life and renders man so imbecilic that he is kindred to the roaming bear is thus put by Thomson (*Winter*, lines 936-46):

Hard by these shores, *where scarce* his freezing stream  
Rolls the wild Oby, live the last of men;  
And half-enlivened by the distant sun,  
That rears and ripens man, as well as plants,  
Here human nature wears its rudest form.  
Deep from the piercing season sunk in caves,  
Here by dull fires, and with unjoyous cheer,  
They waste the tedious gloom. Immersed in furs,  
*Doze the gross race.* Nor sprightly jest, nor song,  
Nor tenderness they know; nor aught of life,  
Beyond *the kindred bears that stalk without.*

With Thomson's *Summer* (lines 980-1000) may be compared *Queen Mab*, IV, 19-33, descriptive of a shipwreck. Like Thomson, Shelley draws a sharp contrast between deceitful calm and sudden storm upon a tropical sea. According to Shelley,

The orb of day  
In southern climes o'er ocean's waveless field  
Sinks sweetly smiling; not the faintest breath  
Steals o'er the unruffled deep; the clouds of eve  
Reflect unmoved the lingering beam of day;  
And Vesper's image in the western main  
Is beautifully still. Tomorrow comes:  
Cloud upon cloud, *in dark and deepening mass,*  
Roll o'er the blackened waters; the deep roar  
Of distant thunder mutters awfully;  
Tempest unfolds its pinion o'er the gloom  
That shrouds the boiling surge; *the pitiless fiend*  
*With all his winds and lightnings tracks his prey;*  
*The torn deep yawns—the vessel finds a grave*  
*Beneath its jagged gulf.*

It is apparent that Shelley had in mind Thomson's *Summer* (lines 980-1; 992-1000):

But chief at sea, whose every flexile wave  
Obeys the blast, the aerial tumult swells. . . .  
A faint, deceitful calm,  
*A fluttering gale, the Demon sends before*  
To tempt the spreading sail. Then down at once  
*Precipitant, descends a mingled mass*  
Of roaring winds and flame, and rushing floods.  
In wild amazement fix'd the sailor stands.  
Art is too slow. By rapid Fate oppress'd  
*His broad-winged vessel drinks the whelming tide,*  
*Hid in the bosom of the black abyss.*



One seems to catch the voice of Thomson at several other places in *Queen Mab*. Thus section V, 189-94, in Shelley,<sup>28</sup> a severe indictment of the modern concept of love, resembles *Spring* (lines 288-93), where Thomson inveighs against similar abuses. Also Thomsonian is another section in which Shelley bemoans man's inhumanity towards man (IV, 89-108):

Hath Nature's soul . . . on Man alone  
Partial in causeless malice, wantonly  
Heaped ruin, vice, and slavery . . . ? Nature!—no!  
Kings, priests, and statesmen blast the human flower  
Even in its tender bud; their influence darts  
Like subtle poison through the bloodless veins  
Of desolate society.

The old Elizabethan conviction of the decay of the physical world and the sufficiency of human society had long before Shelley's time suffered a complete reversal. That Nature is divine and human society degenerate had become, in fact, a commonplace of Georgian thought. Thomson implies in the following passage that it is good evidence of men's blindness if they blame Nature for their own errors. These are iron times, when the distempered mind has lost its former concord with Nature. Nowadays (*Spring*, lines 303-8) the dominating forces among men are

. . . dark disgust and hatred, winding wiles,  
Coward deceit and ruffian violence.  
At last, extinct each social feeling, fell  
And joyless inhumanity pervades  
And petrifies the heart. Nature disturbed  
Is deemed, vindictive, to have changed her course.

In a footnote which has suffered undue neglect, Koszul (*Le Jeunesse de Shelley*, pp. 154-5) suggests Thomas Campbell's *Pleasures of Hope* (1799), as a possible source for *Queen Mab*. Although the honest hunter of sources will find little to excite him in Koszul's verbal parallels, the germ of *Queen Mab* is certainly in the following passages from Campbell's poem (I, 15-6; 319-22):

What potent spirit guides the raptured eye  
To pierce the shades of dim futurity . . . ?  
I watch the wheels of Nature's mazy plan  
And learn the future by the past of man.  
Come, bright Improvement! on the car of time  
And rule the spacious world from clime to clime.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. also *glittering spires* (*Mab*, IV, 11; *Spring*, line 523); *bitterness of soul* (*Mab*, V, 245; *Spring*, line 288); *insect tribes* (*Mab*, IV, 131; cf. *Revolt of Islam*, V, viii, 2; *Spring*, line 60). We may also compare *Mab*, IX, 32, *Was but the mushroom of a summer day* with *Spring*, line 61, *Are but the beings of a summer's day*.

But Koszul is surely reading more into Campbell than is there when he asserts that the Genius of the poem "is conducted by Hope, as lanthe by Queen Mab, to heights from which it can contemplate the world from afar, its heroes, sages, tyrants." Campbell spends no time on any such machinery; there is in the poem no actual picture of a Genius conducted by Hope to any place whatsoever.

Yet the sentiments which the poem conveys are precisely those which we have found to be typical of the various eighteenth-century ancestors of *Queen Mab*. Koszul rightly observes that Campbell and Shelley alike cry out against war as murder which makes Nature shudder. As in Shelley, "Tyranny, Religion, and Wealth have made man the only blot on Nature's brow," while Campbell blames "degenerate Trade" (I, 561-70) for many of man's ills, just as selfish Commerce is held culpable in *Queen Mab* (V, 53-63).

Except for the accusations that he had "imitated" Pope's *Messiah* and Volney's *Ruins*, Shelley's contemporary detractors were silent on the subject of *Queen Mab's* debt to earlier authors. It is not perhaps surprising that subsequent critiques should have failed to notice the extent of that debt. Shelley's letters record no reading in Pope, Gray, or Thomson during 1812-13. "Our earlier English poetry was almost unknown to him," wrote Mary Shelley in a curiously misleading paragraph of her editorial note on *Queen Mab*. As his favorite reading during the period she lists Landor's *Gebir*, the works of Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Southey, and "such German works as were current in those days." We get only the merest hint that Shelley was interested in moral allegory when we find him asking without comment for copies of Jones's *Palace of Fortune* and Darwin's *Temple of Nature*.<sup>20</sup> Fortunately, however, *Queen Mab* carries within itself incontrovertible evidence of Shelley's close and loving knowledge of "our earlier English poetry." Its structure, its "plot," and its imagery betray the influence, not only of neo-classical imitations of Spenser, but also of the major poetry of the age just prior to Shelley's.

### III.

Spenser's direct influence on *Queen Mab*, though not extensive, is unmistakable. It is unfortunate that so astute a scholar as Professor Böhme, having found no resemblance between Mab and Gloriana, should have concluded that "für Spenser's einfluss daneben kein Platz bleibt." Sufficient room for Spenser does remain even after the influence of Spenserian imitations and the borrowings from Pope, Gray, and Thomson have been added to the echoes from Jones and Volney.

Precisely when Shelley became aware that there was a poet called Spenser it is impossible to say. If he had read Spenser before

<sup>20</sup> *Letters*, IX, 36. Dec. 24, 1812.

the winter of 1812-13, there is no record of the fact. Spenser's name does not appear in the sparse accounts of Shelley's boyhood reading in Hogg, Medwin, and the *Shelley Memorials*. Mary Shelley seems to have known very little about Shelley's reading habits until the time of their elopement.

The first actual indication that Shelley was interested in Spenser occurs at the end of a letter written from Tanyrallt, North Wales, December 17, 1812. In a list of books which Shelley asks Hookham to send "very soon" the last item but one reads, "Spensers Works Fairy Queen &c. (Cheapest poss. Edit.)" I have not seen the original of this letter, but according to the editors of the Julian edition of Shelley's letters, the Spenser item is among those books on the list which "have been scored through apparently to denote that they have been supplied."<sup>30</sup> We do not know positively that Shelley received the books for which he asked, but available evidence suggests that the volumes of Spenser reached Shelley in his Welsh fastness about Christmas, 1812, or at the latest on February 3, 1813. *Queen Mab* was finished and transcribed, and Shelley was beginning to prepare its lengthy notes, by February 19, 1813. As far as one can tell, Shelley was exposed to direct influence of Spenser either during the last eight weeks or during the final fortnight of the actual composition of *Queen Mab*.<sup>31</sup>

What caused Shelley to send for the Spenser volumes? The two older men to whom he turned for counsel at this period were Godwin and Southey. For many years Southey had been an ardent Spenserian; Godwin seems to have been familiar with the poetry and drama of the Elizabethan age. Either or both of these men may have activated Shelley to buy Spenser's works.

<sup>30</sup> *Letters*, IX, 34 and note. Dec. 17, 1812.

<sup>31</sup> To cover the distance between Tanyrallt and London, the Carnavon mail-coach normally required four days, if we are to trust one of Shelley's itineraries (*Letters*, IX, 22-3). It is therefore possible that a box of books containing the Spenser volumes reached Shelley soon after Christmas, 1812. Between Dec. 17, 1812, and Jan. 2, 1813, Hookham apparently wrote Shelley to ask about two of the items (Spinoza and Kant) on the list of Dec. 17. On Jan. 2, Shelley answers Hookham's questions, without mentioning receipt of any parcel in the meantime (*Letters*, IX, 39-40). It is obvious that the volumes of Spinoza and Kant had not been sent. This does not, however, necessarily mean that the Spenser had not been sent to Shelley before Jan. 2. It may be, on the other hand, that all the books were held up until the first week in February. Some of Shelley's MSS had been left behind in Ireland, and were to be sent from Dublin to Hookham in London. On Dec. 17, Shelley instructed his publisher to send these MSS along with the box of books (*Letters*, IX, 35). For some reason there was a delay in Ireland, and if I correctly interpret Shelley's next letter to Hookham, the parcel containing the MSS was either still in Ireland or still in transit between Ireland and London on Jan. 26, 1813. "I wish you by no means to wait for it," says Shelley in a letter of that date, and then gives instructions for the quick transmission of a box of books to Tanyrallt (*Letters*, IX, 42). Now if we assume that this was the box of books containing the Spenser item, it is possible that Shelley had to wait until about Feb. 3, 1813, for his "*Fairy Queen &c.*"

Böhme (285) thinks that Godwin was responsible, and the odds are in favor of this belief. Shelley opened correspondence with his future father-in-law on January 3, 1812, and was soon asking literary advice of his mentor. On December 10, 1812, Godwin pontifically but kindly answered one of his queries, "You ask me concerning some of our elder writers, and I will therefore briefly mention a few." His list includes eight Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatists, eight prose writers, and Chapman's *Homer*. "Then what illustrious poets," he exclaims, "had those times in Spenser, Drayton, and Daniel! . . . You have what appears to me a false taste in poetry. You love a perpetual sparkle and glittering, such as are to be found in Darwin, and Southey, and Scott, and Campbell."<sup>32</sup> Two or three days after he had read this letter, Shelley ordered Spenser's works from Hookham. That Godwin was immediately responsible for the appearance of the Spenser item is likely.

There is no reason to assume, however, that Godwin was solely responsible. About the time he first conceived the theme of *Queen Mab* Shelley had met Robert Southey of Keswick. Of his first childhood encounter with Spenser Southey recalled "No young lady of the present generation falls to a new novel of Scott's with a keener relish than I did that morning to the *Faery Queen*."<sup>33</sup> Visiting Dublin in the fall of 1801, he betrayed a love of *Colin Clout* when he wrote back to Coleridge, "Where Mole that mountain hoar is I can not find, though I have hunted the name in every distortion of possible orthography."<sup>34</sup> Accustomed to look upon *The Faerie Queene* "almost with a religious love and veneration," he told Landon that it was heresy to dislike Spenser, who was "the great master of English versification, incomparably the greatest master in our language."<sup>35</sup> He early attempted a continuation of *The Faerie Queene*, imitated it in the old ninth canto of *Joan of Arc* (1796), used a Spenser motto on the title page of *Thalaba*, and prefaced Books VI, VII, and XII of that poem with extracts from the *Ruines of Time*, the *Epithalamion*, and the *Daphnida*, respectively.<sup>36</sup>

In 1812, when Southey and Shelley met, the older poet took a paternal interest in the young radical, set him upon a course of reading, and tried in general to guide him into the paths of righteousness.<sup>37</sup> Considering the frequency of his conversations with

<sup>32</sup> *Shelley Memorials*, 47-8.

<sup>33</sup> William Haller, *The Early Life of Robert Southey* (N. Y., 1917), p. 25.

<sup>34</sup> Robert Southey, *Life and Correspondence*, ed. C. C. Southey (London, 1849-50), II, 171. See Spenser's *Colin Clout*, line 57.

<sup>35</sup> Haller, p. 264. Southey, *Life and Correspondence*, III, 295.

<sup>36</sup> Haller, p. 27. I refer to the first edition of Southey's *Joan*. He subsequently excised the original ninth canto as not in accord with the non-supernatural manner of the rest of the poem.

<sup>37</sup> Southey, *Life and Correspondence*, III, 325-6.

Shelley, his own reverence for Spenser, and the fact that Spenser's works must have occupied a place of prominence in the library at Greta Hall, it is not at all unlikely that Shelley might have been induced to look into *The Faerie Queene* a year before Godwin recommended Spenser to him.

That Shelley read some of Spenser before he finished *Queen Mab* is proved beyond reasonable doubt by the passage in which Shelley describes Ahasuerus (VII, 68-79). Called up by Queen Mab's wand,

A strange and woe-worn wight  
Arose beside the battlement  
And stood unmoving there.  
His inessential figure cast no shade  
Upon the golden floor;  
His port and mien bore mark of many years  
And chronicles of untold ancientness  
Were legible within his beamless eye.  
Yet his cheek bore the mark of youth,  
Freshness and vigor knit his manly frame;  
The wisdom of old age was mingled there  
With youth's primeval dauntlessness.

The source of this passage may be located without difficulty in the second book of *The Faerie Queene*. The ninth canto (stanzas 45-59) relates how Guyon and Arthur, on a visit to the House of Alma, are led by their hostess up to a stately turret very like the imitation Spenserian castles mentioned elsewhere in this paper. Within the turret live the three sages of Future, Present, and Past time. One is again reminded of the Spenser imitators. It is Spenser's picture of Eumnestes, the old man of the past, of which Shelley has availed himself for his own description of Ahasuerus.

Spenser says of his ancient sage (II, ix, 56, 1-4),

This man of infinite remembrance was,  
And things foregone through many ages held,  
Which he recorded still, as they did pas,  
Ne suffred them to perish through long eld.

In *Queen Mab*, VII, 73-5, we are told of Ahasuerus,

His port and mien bore mark of many years  
And chronicles of untold ancientness  
Were legible within his beamless eye.

Shelley's "chronicles of untold ancientness" appear in Spenser as "old records from auncient times derived" (II, ix, 57, 7). And we learn also of Spenser's sage that although his body was feeble

enough (II, ix, 55, 7-9),

Yet lively vigour rested in his mind,  
And recompens't him with a better scorse.  
Weake body well is chang'd for mind's redoubled force.

Similarly, although Ahasuerus gives every indication of great age,

Yet his cheek bore the mark of youth,  
Freshness and vigor knit his manly frame:  
The wisdom of old age was mingled there  
With youth's primeval dauntlessness.

The "lively vigour" of Spenser becomes the "freshness and vigor" of Shelley. It is worth noting in connection with this echo that Spenser uses the word *vigour* only twice, once on this occasion. The only occurrence in all of Shelley of the noun *vigor* comes in this reworking of Spenser.

Into the picture of Ahasuerus may also have come a suggestion of Milton's Satan, whose thunder-scarred face and care-faded cheek do not prevent "dauntless courage" from looking out beneath his brows. But the youth-age contrast is not in Milton, nor does he mention the capacity for infinite remembrance which is shared by Eumnestes and Ahasuerus. It may be further remarked that in no descriptions of the Wandering Jew known to or written by Shelley before this date is there more than the remotest resemblance to the detailed description given in *Queen Mab*.<sup>28</sup>

With this final evidence of Shelley's use of antecedent poetry, we may conclude the present re-examination of *Queen Mab*. To say even now that the poem is a bundle of plagiarisms would be very far from the truth. It is perhaps too imitative to be regarded as a mature work of art. Yet Shelley has assimilated his material with such skill that we need not contradict the fundamental truth of Mr. Bernard Shaw's conclusion that "*Queen Mab* is a perfectly original poem on a great subject."<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> I do not think that the general resemblance of *Queen Mab* and Alanus's *Complaint of Nature* has been noticed before. In the *Complaint*, the Goddess Nature descends in a shining chariot drawn by the birds of Juno, and because of the young man's worthiness agrees to divulge the secrets of nature. Among the figures who appear, to be greeted by Nature, is Genius (Prose, IX, 90-3). Like Ahasuerus, "his head was clothed with locks of hoary whiteness and bore the marks of wintry age; yet his face was delicate with the smoothness of youth, and unfurrowed by any of the plow-marks of old age." I find no other evidence that Shelley had read Alanus, and the best guess is that in imitating Spenser Shelley was unwittingly echoing *The Complaint of Nature*, for Spenser's Eumnestes seems to be founded on Alanus's *Genius*. The quotation from Alanus is drawn from Douglas M. Moffat's translation, *Yale Studies in English* XXXVI (New York, 1908).

<sup>29</sup> Shaw's remarks to the Shelley Society at its meeting on April 14, 1886, are given in abbreviated form in the *Notebook of the Shelley Society* (1888), p. 31. Shelley Society Publications, first series, number 2.

## THE AUTHENTICITY OF COOPER'S *THE PRAIRIE*

By JOHN T. FLANAGAN

It is an interesting paradox that Cooper's one novel about the trans-Mississippi West was written when he himself was farthest from the scene, for, although *The Prairie* was begun before Cooper left the United States, it was finished in Paris. One might argue that the place of composition is of little importance since the author was personally ignorant of the terrain of his story. But the fact remains that Cooper chose a Louis XIV salon in which to write a tale of western America. It is no wonder that the authenticity of the novel was questioned by such spokesmen of the West as W. J. Snelling, Dr. Daniel Drake, Timothy Flint, James Hall, and Lewis Cass.

*The Prairie*, as every reader of the Leatherstocking Tales knows, was the third of the series to be completed but actually is the climactic volume. In it Cooper transforms his hero into a trapper; the locale is not the virgin forest dear to the Mohicans but the plains of the Platte watershed; the Indians are the Teton Sioux and the Pawnees. Obviously, since Cooper had never crossed the Mississippi, he had never seen the country he chose to depict. His knowledge of the rolling plateaus, of the antelope and buffalo, of the alkali and sage, was fragmentary and second-hand.

There are two possible sources for *The Prairie*, one specific, one general. Early in 1826 Cooper had met a delegation of Sioux and Pawnee chiefs in New York and had become so interested in them that he followed them to Washington. He had already planned a new romance connected with the mounted tribes of the prairies, his daughter informs us, and this design was stimulated by the Indian ambassadors.<sup>1</sup> In particular Cooper became interested in a chief named Petelasharoo (or Peterlasharoo), a young Pawnee who incarnated all the moral and physical virtues of the plains Indian. In Cooper's own words, "the impression produced by his grave and haughty, though still courteous mien, the restless, but often steady, and bold glance of his dark, keen eye, and the quiet dignity of his air, are still present to my recollection."<sup>2</sup> Students of the novelist have since assumed that Petelasharoo was the model for Hard-Heart, the Pawnee paragon of *The Prairie*. At any rate, Cooper had the opportunity to observe this chief and his companions, perhaps to garner various details about aboriginal life,

<sup>1</sup>Susan Fenimore Cooper, "Small Family Memories," in *Correspondence of James Fenimore-Cooper*, ed. James Fenimore Cooper (New Haven, 1922), I, 59.

<sup>2</sup>James Fenimore Cooper, *Notions of the Americans* (Philadelphia, 1828), II, 298.



buffalo hunting, tribal feuds. Quite possibly these Indians were the only undegenerate red men, the only members of an independent tribe uncowed by the advance of the frontier, that Cooper ever met, since he himself admitted his ignorance of the red men. "All that I know of them is from reading, and from hearing my father speak of them."<sup>3</sup>

The second possible stimulus of *The Prairie* is the novelist's reading. It is axiomatic today that in at least four of the Leatherstocking Tales Cooper was indebted to the narrative of John Heckewelder.<sup>4</sup> But the Moravian missionary's account had no pertinence to the West. For the trans-Mississippi country Cooper needed other authorities, and he found them in the pages of Lewis and Clark, in the annals of Long's expedition, possibly even in the work of Schoolcraft.<sup>5</sup> These explorers and adventurers told him something about the topography of the short-grass country, about the distribution of the Indian tribes; they even gave him such Indian names as the Sioux chiefs Weucha and Mahtoree; but unfortunately they could not supply to the Tory squire who had never seen the West the authenticity which *The Prairie* lacks.

The novel, published in 1827, has never been among Cooper's most popular works, yet when it appeared five editions were issued simultaneously in several countries, and Cooper himself observed that European critics preferred it to the rest of the series.<sup>6</sup> Certainly it is not devoid of merit. If it contains one of the author's deadliest bores, Obed Bat, it also includes one of his most sinister and graphic figures, the squatter Ishmael Bush. If it includes the conventional pair of heroines and the usual jejune love story, it also unrolls an exciting and moving narrative against one of Cooper's widest canvases. Several scenes and incidents, moreover, stand out, even to those readers who are not champions of Cooper:

<sup>3</sup> Quoted by James Grant Wilson, *Bryant, and His Friends* (New York, 1886), 237.

<sup>4</sup> See Gregory L. Paine, "The Indians of the Leather-Stocking Tales," *Studies in Philology* (January, 1926), XXIII, 16-39.

<sup>5</sup> Margaret Murray Gibb, *Le Roman De Bas-De-Cuir* (Paris, 1927), 83, 87.

<sup>6</sup> Autobiographical notes, quoted by Marcel Clavel, *Fenimore Cooper and His Critics* (Aix-en-Provence, 1938), 393. A characteristic notice of *The Prairie* appeared in the (London) *New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal* (April, 1831), XXXI, 360: "A large proportion of the critics have decided in favour of *The Prairie*, as the finest of all the American novels. It is a point which we cannot determine, for we have many favourites. . . . But *The Prairie* is certainly, in some of its scenes, unsurpassed, in a particular kind of power, by any thing we ever read, whether in prose or poetry. In point of character, it ranks with the most striking and original of the author's works; and contains one or two persons whose impressions are so vividly stamped upon the imagination, that it is difficult to persuade ourselves that we have not met them under some extraordinary but forgotten circumstances—that we have not wandered over that prairie, and communed with the very spirit of the scene."

the death scene of the treacherous Abiram, the initial meeting with the trapper when his gaunt and aged form is outlined against the setting sun, the superbly restrained and poetic picture of the trapper's death. Artistically there are passages in *The Prairie* which rank with Cooper's supreme achievements. Lounsbury was quite right in calling the novel the most poetic of all his works.<sup>7</sup>

Yet there is a significant aspect to the early reviews of *The Prairie* which no one has as yet pointed out: practically every reviewer or critic who knew anything about the West from personal experience asserted that the novel lacked authenticity. For example, Lewis Cass, the distinguished soldier and territorial governor, regretted that Cooper did not cross the Alleghenies rather than the Atlantic; if he had done so, he might have taken his materials from nature and might not have been guilty of "shadowy representations." Cass particularly objected to the manners and speech of Cooper's Indians:

"They number," says one of the speakers in the *Prairie*, "as many as the fingers of my hand." No Indian from Patagonia to Hudson's Bay ever used this periphrastic expression for the simple word *ten*. It is rather difficult to believe the author can be serious.<sup>8</sup>

Uncas and Hard-Heart, Cass asserted, have no living prototype in the forests. "They may wear leggins and moccasins, and be wrapped in a blanket or a buffalo skin, but they are civilized men, and not Indians."

Other men who knew the West well shared this view. William Joseph Snelling, intimately familiar with the life of Sioux and Chippewa, protested against the novelist's use of hyperbole and metaphor in his dialogue. "The term *pale faces* . . . was, we think, never in the mouth of any American savage, excepting in the fanciful pages of Mr. Cooper."<sup>9</sup> Timothy Flint refused to review *The Prairie* at all on the ground that it contained little or no Kentucky (i.e., western) idiom and that it was a work which only a stranger to the prairies could have written. "We shall read him with pleasure only," remarked the editor of the *Western Magazine and Review*, "when he selects scenery and subjects, with which he is familiarly conversant."<sup>10</sup> To James Hall, who greatly approved of Cooper's choice of native themes and who praised *The Spy* and *The Last of the Mohicans* as the work of genius, *The Prairie* was a complete failure. Hall remarked that despite some admirable scenes the book was obviously written by one completely ignorant of western life, that the plot was both improbable and impossible, the dialogue

<sup>7</sup> Thomas R. Lounsbury, *James Fenimore Cooper* (Boston, 1885), 72.

<sup>8</sup> *North American Review* (April, 1828), XXVI, 374-5.

<sup>9</sup> *North American Review* (January, 1835), XL, 70.

<sup>10</sup> *Western Magazine and Review* (September, 1827), I, 308.

was not authentically western, and the novel as a whole was unconvincing.<sup>11</sup> Dr. Daniel Drake, lecturing at Miami University in 1834 on the literature and history of the West, observed that Cooper in *The Prairie* like Paulding in *Westward Ho!* had failed to delineate the section accurately. "No western man can read those works with interest; because of their want of conformity to the circumstances and characters of the country, in which the scenes are laid."<sup>12</sup> Even William Gilmore Simms, who thought that Cooper was inimitable in narrative art and resourcefulness, complained that the novelist's picture of the frontiersman was less true than picturesque.<sup>13</sup>

The year after Cooper's death Francis Parkman essayed an evaluation of the bulk of the novelist's work. He made the conventional comparison with Scott and pointed out such aesthetic flaws in Cooper's fiction as a limited range, an inability to paint his heroines convincingly, a tendency to overload his description, and the lack of a sense of humor. Nevertheless, he concluded that of all American writers Cooper was the most original and the most thoroughly national. Then Parkman analyzed the *Leatherstocking Tales* in great detail, and indicated his preference for *The Pioneers*. To him *The Prairie* was a novel of inferior merit. "The story is very improbable, and not very interesting. The pictures of scenery are less true to nature than in the previous volumes, and seem to indicate that Cooper had little or no personal acquaintance with the remoter parts of the West."<sup>14</sup> Only six years before the appearance of this review Parkman had made his celebrated journey over the plains to Fort Laramie and had observed aboriginal life at first-hand. It is significant that he was not impressed by Cooper's version.

It would be easy to accumulate additional evidence of western dislike for *The Prairie* but the tone would remain constant: the novel lacked authenticity. In other words Cooper simply did not know wherof he wrote and his imagination, so grandly competent in picturing sea and forest, was unequal to the task of transferring the great plains to the pages of a novel. Parrington remarked that Cooper not only hated but also misunderstood the frontier and was consequently unfitted to write an account of it as it straggled westward.<sup>15</sup> In similar fashion the novelist was unequipped to portray the trans-Mississippi West.

<sup>11</sup> *Illinois Monthly Magazine* (October, 1831), II, 23.

<sup>12</sup> Daniel Drake, *Discourse on the History, Character, and Prospects of the West* (Cincinnati, 1834), 55.

<sup>13</sup> William Gilmore Simms, *Views and Reviews of American Literature* (New York, 1845), 218-219.

<sup>14</sup> *North American Review* (January, 1852), LXXIV, 157.

<sup>15</sup> Vernon L. Parrington, *The Romantic Revolution in America* (New York, 1927), 232.

Specific reasons for this rather general condemnation of *The Prairie* are not hard to find. In the first place, the plot itself contains manifest absurdities. A girl is kidnapped and, despite the implication that she is being held for ransom, is transported into what at that time (1805) was the most inaccessible region of the country. Into that isolation she is pursued by her lover, *alone*, an act even more insane than that of the kidnappers. As an early reviewer pointed out, all this is a noble example of the improbable.<sup>16</sup> An additional strain is imposed upon the credulity of the reader by the series of coincidences involving the meetings in a territory hundreds of miles in extent of the three groups of characters, the squatter and his brood, the vindictive Sioux, and the trapper and his group. These coincidences suggest nothing so much as the manipulations of a puppet show by its master.

Secondly, the topography and geography of the book reveal Cooper's ignorance. The action of *The Prairie* is supposedly set in the great plains lying between the north and south forks of the Platte River, some five hundred miles west of the Mississippi. Cooper shared the mistaken notion of his day that a kind of American Sahara, unfit for all types of agriculture, stretched almost to the foothills of the Rockies. Nevertheless, as he visualized the country, occasional tall trees stood out like distant masts on the sea, streams and watercourses threaded the prairie, springs gushed forth at appropriate intervals and formed tiny runnels, thickets of cottonwoods and vines which straggled a mile in length were not unusual. In the fall of the year the skies were periodically darkened by swarms of aquatic birds winging their way southward to the Gulf (Cooper apparently knew nothing of the great fluvial flyways of ducks and geese), and the rivers were conveniently full so as not to impede the water transportation of the characters. As Cooper's protagonists tread their devious paths they shoot deer (probably pronghorn antelope!), they pass noble oaks and sycamores, and they occasionally espy a broad belt of forest. In reality travelers in the sagebrush country relied on buffalo chips or a rare willow for fuel.<sup>17</sup> To give an artistic impression of his enormous background Cooper chose the comparison of the prairies to the ocean, an analogy which in 1827 had not yet become trite.

Needless to say the westerner would not swallow such inaccuracies. When Ishmael is about to pass judgment on the cowering Abiram, he looks out upon "the same wide and empty wastes, the same rich and extensive bottoms, and that wild and singular com-

<sup>16</sup> *North American Review* (January, 1838), XLVI, 10.

<sup>17</sup> The locale of Parkman's *Oregon Trail* coincides to some extent with that of *The Prairie*. A comparison of the descriptions in the two books is illuminating. Cf. also a recent article by W. L. Schramm, "On the Road to Oregon," *New England Quarterly* (March, 1940), XIII, 49-64.

bination of swelling fields and of nakedness, which gives that region the appearance of an ancient country, incomprehensibly stripped of its people and their dwellings."<sup>18</sup> But, Cooper hastens to add, the characteristic features of the prairies had been interrupted by hills, rocks, rock masses, and stretches of forest!

Obviously the novelist did not know and could not conceive the real nature of the country. He described it always as merely an adjunct to the terrain he knew, a little flatter, a little more sterile. He failed to understand the aridity of the treeless high plains, nor did he differentiate between the prairies (frequently lush and arable) and the short grass country.<sup>19</sup> Even his title is a misnomer, for *The Prairie* should actually read *The Plains*.<sup>20</sup>

Finally, the dialogue of the novel does not ring true to western ears. Admitting that any literary convention is more or less conventionalized and that the main criterion to establish is not appropriateness but consistency, one can yet reject as unnatural the tropes of the Indians, the imagery taken from eastern forests and mountains, the prolix, heavily moralistic speeches of the trapper. The characters have as much trouble acclimatizing themselves as Cooper himself.

The whole point may best be expressed by an antithesis: *The Prairie* has verisimilitude, it lacks authenticity. Its improbabilities of plot are not perhaps more annoying than similar errors in other romantic novels, but its inaccuracies of setting are harder to pardon. To western readers desirous of a truthful delineation of the great mid-continent *The Prairie* was manifestly false. Gross errors Cooper undoubtedly saved himself from making by a careful reading of western chronicles; he was even meticulous enough to call a buffalo a bison. But the journals of the explorers did not prevent his frequent errors in topography, botany, geography, ethnology. Hence *The Prairie* is not authentic.

Nevertheless, it remains a fascinating story, unspoiled for the average reader by its improbabilities. Shakespeare's *As You Like It* is no less delicious a tale because the forest of Arden contains a serpent, a lioness, and a palm tree. And Cooper at least did not introduce elephants and tigers into *The Prairie*. Nor, it might be added, did he ever try to describe the far West again.

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<sup>18</sup> *The Prairie*, chapter xxxii.

<sup>19</sup> See the demarcation of agricultural areas and the excellent maps in Walter Prescott Webb's *The Great Plains* (Boston and New York, 1936).

<sup>20</sup> It is significant that Edward Everett Hale, Jr., in an article celebrating Cooper as a landscape painter omitted all reference to *The Prairie*. See "American Scenery in Cooper's Novels," *Sewanee Review* (July, 1910), XVIII, 317-332.

## A NOTE ON WHITMAN'S USE OF THE BIBLE AS A MODEL

By CLARENCE GOHDES

### I

Anyone who undertakes to make a general assertion about Walt Whitman is likely to find his theory soon dodging the facts presented by a close study of any aspect of the poet during any specific epoch of his life. His versification is, of course, no exception. The student who turns from a perusal of the 1855 text of *Leaves of Grass* to a consideration of *Drum-Taps* as published ten years later must be convinced of a great difference in the use of devices of sound. The man who had gone to such "great trouble in leaving out stock 'poetical' touches" from his 1855 edition has obviously fled to the opposite extreme in many of the poems which appear in the Civil War volume—a point which may be made clear if one should glance for a moment at "Pioneers! O Pioneers!" or at "As Toilsome I Wander'd Virginia's Woods." (The titles alone indicate how conscious Whitman had become of the necessity of more regular rhythms.) Furthermore, a reader of "Song of Myself," even as ultimately revised by the poet, would be a bold man to assert that any general pattern of sound, or of any other poetical essential, prevails throughout that one poem. Its general effect, I believe, is strikingly like Whitman's own conversation as reported by John Burroughs:

Sometimes his talk is choppy and confused, or elliptical and unfinished; again there comes a long splendid roll of thought that bathes one from head to foot, or swings you quite from your moorings.<sup>1</sup>

The study of Whitman's versification, therefore, must be pursued by close consideration of individual poems and parts of poems rather than by extended analysis of his entire output in verse.

The same point of view should be adopted by those who look for the origins of Whitman's free verse. No single model is likely to be the only one which suggested sound patterns to an ear that was as well attuned as Whitman's to the voice of the sea, "the blab of the curb," or the melodies of the opera house.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Clara Barrus, *The Life and Letters of John Burroughs* (Boston and New York, 1925), I, 257. Even Burroughs fell into one of the poet's favorite rhythms at the end of his sentence.

<sup>2</sup> Among others, Fred N. Scott has demonstrated the point, albeit Scott was moved to make the broad assertion that Whitman turned from the "rhythm of beats to the rhythm of pitch-glides" ("A Note on Walt Whitman's 'Prosody,'" *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, VII, 134-153, April, 1908).

Of the various suggestions which have been made concerning the models for *Leaves of Grass* none has enjoyed the benefits of repetition more than the statement that the English Bible provided Whitman with an archetype. Countless readers have noted general similarities to the Bible; and it is usually taken for granted that the poet intended his verse to be, among other things, a kind of Bible of Democracy. But general similarities are far from constituting positive evidence of conscious imitation; and as a consequence students should continue to seek for specific parallels in sound before accepting the general opinion that the Bible was one of the chief sources, if not the chief model, for Whitman's free verse.

It is obvious, of course, that the sound pattern of a verse like the following: "God is gone up with a shout, the Lord with the sound of a trumpet,"<sup>3</sup> suggests the dactylic effect of many of the cadences in the more impassioned lines of *Leaves of Grass*.<sup>4</sup> But no one could safely argue Biblical influence upon such a common sound-pattern.<sup>5</sup> Nor could one urge as positive proof of Biblical influence the fact that so many of Whitman's lines are in the parallel structure which forms such an essential feature of Hebrew poetry.<sup>6</sup> I do not mean to suggest that Biblical parallelism did not influence the American poet: I mean merely to say that no one as yet has succeeded in isolating a specific verse or group of verses in Whitman's poetry for which a definite single passage from the Bible can be selected as the model which he had in mind when he wrote.

<sup>3</sup> *Psalms*, 47:5.

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd." I give here the last words of the seven lines which constitute section five of that poem. The text is that of the so-called Inclusive Edition, ed. Emory Holloway (Garden City, 1925), p. 277.

1. land amid cities
2. spotting the gray debris
3. passing the endless grass
4. dark-brown fields uprisen
5. white and pink in the orchards
6. rest in the grave
7. journeys a coffin.

Line four does not illustrate the point, but it is of interest to note that that line begins: "Passing the yellow-speared wheat. . ."

<sup>5</sup> A notorious sentence from Jonathan Edwards' sermon on "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God" contains a couple of samples of the pattern: ". . . over the pit of hell, much as one holds a spider," and ". . . hateful venomous serpent."

<sup>6</sup> Miss Lois Ware has concluded that sixty per cent of Whitman's lines are in parallel structure ("Poetic Conventions in 'Leaves of Grass,'" *Studies in Philology*, XXVI, 47-57, January, 1929). Mr. Gay Allen has attempted to point out individual types of parallelism common to Whitman and the Old Testament ("Biblical Analogies for Walt Whitman's Prosody," *Revue Anglo-Américaine*, X, 490-507, August, 1933). In another article Mr. Allen has listed Biblical references and allusions in Whitman (Biblical Echoes in Whitman's Works," *American Literature*, VI, 302-315, November, 1934).



## II

There are, however, a few passages in *Leaves of Grass* which, I believe, *may* well have received their suggestion from a portion of the New Testament so well-known that many people who have searched the Scriptures far less than Whitman<sup>7</sup> can repeat it from memory—namely, the famous praises of charity from the thirteenth chapter of *First Corinthians*:

4. Charity suffereth long and is kind; charity envieth not; charity vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up.
5. Doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil;
6. Rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth;
7. Beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things.

The first passage from *Leaves of Grass* which *may* have been suggested by the sound of a portion of the above is as follows:

Wisdom is of the soul, is not susceptible of proof, is its own  
proof,  
Applies to all stages and objects and qualities and is content.<sup>8</sup>

The second reads:

The earth does not argue,  
Is not pathetic, has no arrangements.<sup>9</sup>

The third is perhaps less convincing, and needs an introductory line to explain its meaning:

What we believe in waits latent forever through all the continents,  
Invites no one, promises nothing, sits in calmness and light, is  
positive and composed, knows no discouragement.<sup>10</sup>

All three of the poems from which the selections are taken appeared first in the 1856 edition, but the third example was not added

<sup>7</sup> Whitman's enthusiasm for the Bible is to be taken for granted. A manuscript which has recently turned up for sale, one of the poet's self-exploiting advertisements, refers to his interest in the following words: "Whitman, democrat and man of the Western & New as he is, appreciates, even to enthusiasm, the poetry of the Old myths and of feudalism. I have often heard him place the Bible at the head of all known poetic literature" (*American Art Association* . . . *Catalogue*, sale 4351, 1937, p. 186).

<sup>8</sup> "Song of the Open Road" (Inclusive Edition, p. 127).

<sup>9</sup> "Song of the Rolling Earth" (*ibid.*, p. 187).

<sup>10</sup> "To a Foil'd European Revolutionaire" (*ibid.*, p. 311). This reading occurs first in 1881. The original (1856 Edition, p. 268) reading is as follows: "What we believe in invites no one, promises nothing, sits in calmness and light, is positive and composed, knows no discouragement."

to the poem of which it is now a part until 1881. And, it must be said, Whitman did not then compose the line but simply borrowed it, with one omission, from his 1855 preface,<sup>11</sup> where it occurs in this sentence:

Liberty relies upon itself, invites no one, promises nothing, sits in calmness and light, is positive and composed, and knows no discouragement.<sup>12</sup>

It is of interest to note that the omission of the conjunction *and* makes the line more nearly resemble its *possible* Biblical model.

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<sup>11</sup> "By Blue Ontario's Shore" is a well-known example of Whitman's use of his 1855 preface as material for his verse.

<sup>12</sup> Inclusive Edition, p. 499. Mr. Rollo Silver has called my attention to another passage which might be compared (1855 Edition, p. 64): "Happiness not in another place, but this place . . . not for another hour, but this hour." Mr. Silver also suggests that the student of this type of parallelism in Whitman should also consider the first paragraph of the 1855 preface. With this idea I am in hearty agreement.

## THE SUCCESSION OF LIVES IN SPENSER'S THREE SONS OF AGAPE

By SEABURY M. BLAIR

In their attempt to find a symbolised philosophy for the Fourth Book of the *Faerie Queene*, commentators have long seen in the story of Agape's three sons an illustration of the principle, "Friendship is based on equality." Initiated by John Erskine in 1915 and followed by many commentators, this interpretation is effectively assailed by Jefferson B. Fletcher in a recent study.<sup>1</sup> Fletcher makes several cogent points: any concentration of the three brothers' souls is destroyed before the reconciliation of the surviving Triamond with Cambel, inasmuch as "Triamond acquires his brothers' souls, or lives, only to lose them almost at once"; a mathematical parity of souls "is not a felicitous symbol for spiritual equality"; and immediate reconciliation, which Erskine asserts and logic would seem to require, does not follow, Cambel and Triamond continuing "implacably hostile even after Cambina's appearance." This attack on the traditional interpretation need not be belaboured; there are, however, two more arguments against its acceptance that should be noted. An inferiority of soul, often attributed individually to the brothers Priamond, Diamond, and Triamond,<sup>2</sup> finds little basis in Spenser's text. In fact, the poet has written that any one of the three is equal with Cambel if the magic ring be discounted. Of Cambel, he writes:

<sup>1</sup> Jefferson B. Fletcher, "The Legend of Cambel and Triamond in the *Faerie Queene*," *Studies in Philology*, XXXV (1938), 195-201. Adequately disposing of Erskine's theory, Fletcher proposes one that is far from satisfactory. He suggests that "all this hocus-pocus of magic is merely a device to give variety to the inevitably monotonous combats," citing Boiardo, Ariosto, and Tasso as models for Spenser, and reminding us that "magic spices the unfinished tale of Chaucer which Spenser is avowedly continuing." One is tempted to object in that Spenser's device seems so elaborate and unwieldy. Moreover the whole episode of Agape's sons is a canto-long digression from the progress of the narrative of Book Four; the episode's *raison d'être* must be allegory. Then, too, there could be little variety for combat in still another joust, no matter how miraculous. Finally, Spenser's tremendous unconcern with fidelity to his Chaucerian source vitiates Fletcher's last remark.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps most clearly representing this type of comment is that of W. F. DeMoss: "Friendship is impossible between Cambel and any one of the three brothers, Priamond, Diamond, and Triamond. But when Triamond, by receiving the spirits of his two brothers, becomes the equal of Cambel, the two become perfect friends." *The Influence of Aristotle's "Politics" and "Ethics" on Spenser* (Chicago), p. 39. Reprinted from MP, XVI (1918); quoted in *The Works of Spenser, A Variorum Edition* (Baltimore, 1935), IV, 297.

All was through vertue of the ring he wore,  
 The which not onely did not from him let  
 One drop of bloud to fall, but did restore  
 His weakned powers, and dulled spirits whet,  
 Through working of the stone therein yset.  
 Else how could one of equall might with most,  
 Against so many *no lesse mighty* met,  
 Once thinke to match three such on equall cost,  
 Three such as able were to match a puissant host?<sup>3</sup>

This clearly implies parity.

Again, critics have sought to support the "equality of soul" interpretation by relating the prayers of Agape, the mother of the three brothers, to the theory of a concentration of soul, or of souls. Thus Erskine writes that the Fay mother "prayed that the soul of him who died first should pass into the soul of the other two, and the soul of the next who died should join itself with that of the third brother, so that in him all three souls should survive."<sup>4</sup> Such a statement alters the facts, for in reality Agape prays, not for a concentration of souls, but for lengthened lives. After her entreaty that each individual son's life be prolonged is refused,<sup>5</sup> Agape begs:

Graunt this, that when ye shred with fatall knife  
 His line which is the eldest of the three,  
 Which is of them the shortest, as I see,  
 Eftsoones *his life may passe into the next*;  
 And when the next shall likewise ended bee,  
 That both their lives may likewise be annex  
 Unto the third, that his may so be trebly wext.<sup>6</sup>

Similarly, the four-line argument preceding Canto ii states:

... Agape  
 Doth lengthen her sonnes lives.

The mother's prayer leads to Spenser's rather pessimistic proem of the third canto, where he declaims the folly of wishing for a longer span of years.

Indeed the actual transference of souls may be taken simply as symbolic of the succession of lives promised by the Fates. At the points where traduction of souls occurs Spenser is constantly reminding us of the weird pact between Agape and the three sisters:

<sup>3</sup> *FQ*, 4. 3. 24.

<sup>4</sup> John Erskine, "The Virtue of Friendship in the *Faerie Queene*," *PMLA*, XXX (1915), 847. (Quoted in *Spenser, Variorum Ed.*, IV, 295.)

<sup>5</sup> *FQ*, 4. 2. 51.

<sup>6</sup> 4. 2. 52.

His wearie ghost, assoyled from fleshly band,  
 Did not, as others wont, directly fly  
 Unto her rest in Plutoes griesly land,  
 Ne into ayre did vanish presently,  
 Ne chaunged was into a starre in sky:  
 But through traduction was eftsoones derived,  
 Like as his mother prayed the Destinie,  
 Into his other brethren that survived,  
 In whom he liv'd a new, of former life deprived.<sup>7</sup>

And again:

They which that piteous spectacle beheld  
 Were much amaz'd the headlesse tronke to see  
 Stand up so long, and weapons vaine to weld,  
 Unweeting of the Fates divine decree  
 For lifes succession in those brethren three.  
 For notwithstanding that one soule was reft,  
 Yet had the bodie not dismembred bee,  
 It would have lived and revived eft;  
 But finding no fit seat, the lifelesse corse it left.<sup>8</sup>

The point of view of this study will be that Spenser was treating of Friendship in relation to the succession of lives in the episode of the three brothers. The poet may well have been giving allegorical expression to the concept that Friendship outlives death, that in this "virtue" there is a permanent quality, sometimes called the "goodness" or virtue of friends, sometimes put down as a glory, an ennobling memory, an intangible that survived the death of a friend. Due to this quality, Friendship lives beyond life, enriching the friend who follows the other to his grave. It will be shown that the poet may have received the suggestion for the personification from one of two treatises immensely popular in the Renaissance, Marsiglio Ficino's *Commentary on Plato's Symposium Concerning Love* or Cicero's *De Amicitia*.

Ficino begins his "Exhortation to Love. Concerning Simple and Mutual Love" by quoting Plato as saying, "The lover is a soul dead in its own body, living in a strange body,"<sup>9</sup> a remark certainly suggestive of the situation of IV, iii. By involved reasoning Ficino proves his case that in simple (unrequited) love, the lover is indeed dead. But, he continues:

There is a single death only in mutual love, but a double revivification. He who loves dies in himself when he disregards him-

<sup>7</sup> 4. 3. 13.

<sup>8</sup> 4. 3. 21.

<sup>9</sup> Sister Mary Ethelind, translator, *The Commentary of Marsiglio Ficino the Florentine on Plato's Symposium Concerning Love* (Seattle, 1930), MS University of Washington Doctor's Dissertation, 69.

self. He revivifies in the beloved as soon as he is united to the beloved with an ardent knowledge. He revivifies again when in the beloved he finally recognizes himself and does not doubt that he is loved.<sup>10</sup>

Then follows that passage, already cited by C. G. Smith, so reminding of Spenser's allegory:

O twice happy death that art followed by two lives! O marvelous contract whereby a man giveth himself in exchange for another, and gaineth another, and loseth not himself! O inestimable advantage when two become one in such wise that each of them, instead of one, becometh two, and he who had but one life, undergoing death, gaineth a twofold life, seeing that dying but once he is twice raised, so that without doubt he gaineth two lives for one, and for himself, two selves.<sup>11</sup>

No claim to exact analogy between this doctrine of Ficino and the episode of Priamond, Diamond, and Triamond can be made. The philosopher is speaking of death in a figurative, highly intellectualized sense, however, quite suitable to allegory. There is the spiritual unity of the three sons of Agape, or Love, "as if but one soule in them all did dwell," which is only straightened by their common love of Canacee, that would point to a doctrine such as Ficino's. When Ficino's well supported influence on the "Fowre Hymnes" and the similarity of subject matter are taken into account, it seems more likely that the poet was influenced here by the *Commentary* than by the Feronia-Erulus analogy in the *Aeneid* noted by Upton.<sup>12</sup> Finally, the ubiquity of ideas such as the last quoted from Ficino is an argument in favor of their adaptation; Raleigh writes that this excerpt "may be matched fifty times over from discourses of the Renaissance upon love."<sup>13</sup>

Still another widely read ethical source may have been in Spenser's mind when he wrote of the brother-friends. Characterized as "the most potent single literary production in reviving the friendship theme,"<sup>14</sup> Cicero's *De Amicitia* points out more than once that Friendship outlives death. Mills mentions five editions of translations of this essay ranging from 1481 to 1577—these in addition to imported editions of the Latin text.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>10</sup> *The Commentary of Marsiglio Ficino*, 71.

<sup>11</sup> In C. G. Smith, *Spenser's Theory of Friendship* (Baltimore, 1935), 31, the author quotes from *Sopra lo Amore*, Orazione ii, cap. 8.

<sup>12</sup> Quoted in *Spenser, Variorum*, IV, 181. Feronia endowed her son Erulus with three lives and threefold armor so that he was thrice killed in battle.

<sup>13</sup> Cited by Smith, *op. cit.*, 37, from Raleigh's citation and translation in his Introduction to Hobbes's translation of the *Courtier* (London, 1900), Tudor Translations, p. lxxvi.

<sup>14</sup> Lauren J. Mills, *One Soul in Bodies Twain* (Bloomington, Indiana, 1937), 10.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 79.

Not only does the frame dramatization of the essay, Laelius' praise of the friendship between himself and the late Scipio, emphasize the lasting quality of Friendship, but Laelius generally declaims:

In the face of a true friend a man sees as it were a second self. So that where his friend is, he is; if his friend be rich, he is not poor; though he be weak, his friend's strength is his; and in his friend's life he enjoys a second life after his own is finished. This last is perhaps the most difficult to conceive. But such is the effect of respect, the loving remembrance, and the regret of friends which follow us to the grave. While they take the sting out of death, they add glory to the life of the survivors.<sup>16</sup>

And later, in summary of what he has said, Laelius repeats the thought of Friendship surviving death:

For me, indeed, though torn away by a sudden stroke, Scipio lives and ever will live. For it was the virtue of the man that I loved, and that has not suffered death. . . . It [the virtue] will shine to posterity also with undimmed glory. No one will ever cherish a nobler ambition or a loftier hope without thinking his memory and image the best to put before his eyes. . . . If the recollection and memory of these things perished with the man, I could not possibly have endured the regret. . . . But these things have not perished; they are rather fed and strengthened by reflexion and memory.<sup>17</sup>

The idea that Friendship outlived death of a friend and strengthened the life of the one remaining found literary expression in the sixteenth century. In a poem by Nicholas Grimoald the strong influence of the *De Amicitia* may be traced, for the poem is a close paraphrase of Cicero's essay; two lines say that the friend is

In absence, present, riche in want, in sicknesse sownd,  
Yea after death alive, mayst thou by thy sure frend be found.<sup>18</sup>

The same general thought occurs in Bacon's essay when he writes "So that a man hath as it were two lives in his desires."<sup>19</sup> Spenser is familiar with the thought, using it on another occasion in Book IV; after naming several of antiquity's great pairs of friends, the poet writes:

<sup>16</sup> E. S. Schackburgh, translator, *Letters of Marcus Tullius Cicero, with his Treatises on Friendship and Old Age* (N. Y., 1909), The Harvard Classics, IX, 16.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 43.

<sup>18</sup> *Tottel's Miscellany*, ed. Edward Arber (Westminster: A. Constable, English Reprints Series, 1897), 110-11.

<sup>19</sup> *The Essayes or Counsels Civill and Morall of Francis Bacon*, in "Of Friendship" (New York: Everyman's Library, 1906), 86.



All these and all that ever had been tyde  
 In bands of friendship there did live forever,  
 Whose lives although decayed, yet loves decayed never.<sup>20</sup>

It will be recalled that in the episode of the sons of Agape, the lives of the first two brothers make possible the survival of Triamond. In other words, the prayer of Agape is carried out. Even while disposing of the "concentration of souls" theory, Fletcher admits that the lives of Priamond and Diamond save Triamond from the onslaught of Cambel.<sup>21</sup>

There are several other indications that this lasting quality, this survival of Friendship after death, may have been in Spenser's mind. A mother whose name means Love prays that the lives of each of her sons be lengthened; she is refused since Fate's divine decree cannot be altered. The mother then asks that the life of one son may be adjoined to the life of another as the threads of life are shred; this request is granted, perhaps implying that the grant is humanly attainable, that it is within the domain of Love. Each brother, in the succession of lives which follows, receives the essential being of the one who has died before him in the combat and each is strengthened in his own battle. The outcome, after the intervention of Cambina with a draught that changes hate to love, is an ideal friendship between Cambel and the third brother. Should we say that the ideal friendship is the sublimation of the love of the brother-friends with Cambel?

In all, there seems to be abundant evidence that Spenser did not mean to present equality as a requisite for Friendship in his allegory of Agape's sons. Still, no adequate source or analogue has explained the intrusion of this strange, digressive tale. In the writings of Ficino, however, is an exhortation to Love, explaining the relationship in terms of death and revivification; from this or a like source Spenser may have drawn his idea. More likely to be understood by an Elizabethan audience, however, would be an allegory stemming from the *De Amicitia* concerning the concept of Friendship living beyond life, Friendship having within it a permanent, ennobling quality. In contemporary letters this quality is often expressed as outliving the death of a friend. This concept fits the events of the episode of the three sons of Agape more satisfactorily than other interpretations yet advanced.

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<sup>20</sup> *FQ*, 4. 10. 27.

<sup>21</sup> Fletcher, *op. cit.*, 196.

## HOLLAND AS A MEDIATOR OF ENGLISH-GERMAN LITERARY INFLUENCES IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

By LAWRENCE MARSDEN PRICE

The investigations of Schöffler have provided the basis for a re-examination of the literature of western Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries. Schöffler began with a survey of social and religious conditions in England. There the period of religious conflict might well be called the dark age of its literature. From 1600 to 1700 there was but one class which had the necessary education and leisure to provide works of imagination and beauty in abundance, and that was the clergy. The clergy, however, maintained that to feed the imagination with old wives' tales was a process that led away from the paths of virtue and distracted from the reading of the Bible.

Schöffler says: "Zwischen Reformation und Aufklärung, d.h., etwa fünf Generationen lang, ist auf britischem Boden kein weltlich-schöngestiges Buch in der Landessprache erschienen, das den Namen eines in Amt befindlichen Geistlichen als Verfassers trüge."<sup>1</sup> This is an extreme statement but is well supported by the broadest possible survey and by a due consideration of seeming exceptions.

In 1660 came the Restoration. The Whigs came into power in 1689 and men of latitudinarian views gained advancement in church and state. The arrival of the Hanoverian kings, 1714, consolidated the gains and, soon after, we find the clergy laying claim to all the vices and follies of the day, including even the writing of novels and plays. Presently a new alignment is obvious. The church and rationalism appear as allies in the fight against immorality. The formerly hostile groups begin to make graceful bows to each other. Milton led the way with a poetic and imaginative picture of the Christian Universe. Addison demonstrated the greatness of Milton, and Young concluded a literary history with a description of how the Christian hero, meaning Addison, died.

Later Schöffler made a less extensive but fully convincing survey of conditions in Switzerland.<sup>2</sup> Early in its history some differences began to develop within the Calvinistic religion. Calvin himself, less rigid than some of his successors, maintained: He who believes in the Bible and has a guiltless conscience is not under compulsion to deny himself all the pleasures of life. One should

<sup>1</sup> Herbert Schöffler. *Protestantismus und Literatur; neue Wege zur englischen Literatur des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1922), p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Herbert Schöffler. *Das literarische Zürich 1700-1750* (Leipzig: Haessel, 1925).

enjoy life as if one did not enjoy it, or, otherwise stated: One is free to be happy, but only with a sour face. His more zealous followers regarded all feelings of pleasure as a lure of the devil. In the year 1618 a synod was held in Dordrecht in Holland to regulate matters of belief and conduct. It was the Swiss representatives who stood solidly for the severer doctrines. Their zeal and unity carried the day but, as time went on, Holland became less and less orthodox. By the year 1670 the ideas of Descartes were widely accepted there. But now Switzerland, by itself, sought to establish a haven for the unadulterated faith. In 1675 the representatives of Zurich, Schaffhausen, Basel, Bern, and Geneva met together and formulated a "Konsensus" which practically repeated the declaration of the Dordrecht synod of 1618, but the seeds of heresy had already been sown and the next fifty years brought Switzerland well into line with the tendencies in England.

If Schöffler should make for Germany proper a statistical study similar to the one he made concerning England the results might be less sensational. To be sure, the development would be parallel, but the relatively large Lutheran element in many communities would decrease some of his percentages. It is of common knowledge that pastors made up the largest single element among the writers of humaniora and belles-lettres during the years 1600-1750, but they were by no means in the majority. For the entire period 1600-1750 they make up less than 16 per cent of the whole and even for the earlier part of the period, 1600-1680, less than 23 per cent. Of the pastors for the year 1600-1680, more than 83 per cent, at one time or another, indulged in writing of a belletristic type as against 0 per cent, according to Schlösser, in England. Who first said that more than 50 per cent of the writers at the beginning of the eighteenth century were sons of pastors, I do not know, but the fact is that only about 23 per cent were of such parentage.<sup>3</sup>

Statistics provided by Jentsch, concerning the publication of religious and secular books in the 18th century, emphasize the early predominance and later decline of the religious element. In the year 1740 the proportion of religious books to belletristic works offered

<sup>3</sup> These statistics were compiled by two of my seminar colleagues, John Riordon and Eli Sobel. They are based on Karl H. Jördan's *Lexikon deutscher Dichter und Prosaisten* (6 Bde. Leipzig, 1806-1811). The results are as follows: 1) For the years 1600-1750, 212 author names are listed and of these authors 35 were pastors, or about 16 per cent of the whole. 2) For the years 1600-1680, fifty-five authors are listed of which twelve were pastors and one a priest, or 23 per cent. 3) Of these twelve pastors, ten indulged at one time or another in writing of a belletristic type (83 per cent). This compares with zero per cent for the corresponding period in Britain according to Schöffler. 4) For the years 1680-1750, the parentage of 157 authors was ascertained; of these only thirty-six or about 23 per cent were sons of pastors.

at the Büchermärkte was about as six to one, in 1800 the belletristic works predominated in the ratio of nearly four to one.<sup>4</sup>

These statistics prompted me to inquire how matters stood in regard to translations from the English. I found that during the entire period 1700-1750, 181 English works on theology, on the history of religion, and devotional works were translated into German, as against eighty-one works of a belletristic nature, a proportion of little more than two to one.<sup>5</sup> In making these estimates, I properly counted works of Bunyan, Elizabeth Rowe, Young, and even Hervey in the belletristic group. After somewhat painfully compiling these statistics I concluded that they established no new fact. It was already well known that English literature led the way toward belles-lettres during the period in question. The statistics, when compared with Jentsch's for the year 1740, simply indicated quantitatively the force behind the leadership.

When at last the taboo was lifted, when men of the cloth felt free to write imaginatively, it was the pent-up religious feeling that gave wing to their phantasy. Hymns, nature poetry, religious epics, were the prevailing forms of verse, and moral tales prevailed in prose. Even the novel was partly of religious origin. Danielowsky has recently shown the connection between the soul-analysing diaries of the Quakers and Richardson's novels.<sup>6</sup> The drama was the last field to be occupied, and in England the last stronghold of the Cavalier party.

Since these things are so, we need to go into the religious field to trace the beginnings of the English influence in German-speaking lands. Until we do so, the theory of influence remains a hypothesis, and it could well be argued that the parallelism in development was solely the result of a parallel social tendency in which Germany was the laggard element.

At the outset we seem to be confronted with a difficulty in tracing direct connections between men of letters in England and Germany, during the years in question. Before the 19th century few Englishmen of note visited Germany, and before the 18th century few Germans visited England. However, under the latter head one might list Erasmus, Prinz Ludwig zu Anhalt-Köthen, the head of the "Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft," his nephew Christian II, Johannes Lauremberg, Daniel Morhof, Quirin Kuhlmann, Theodore

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Schöffler, *Protestantismus und Literatur* . . . p. 189.

<sup>5</sup> The count of belletristic works is based on Mary J. Price, *The Publication of English literature in Germany in the 18th century* (Berkeley, 1934). The count of religious works is based on the typescript of a similar but unpublished work by the same hand, which includes humaniora translated from English into German in the 18th century.

<sup>6</sup> Emma Danielowsky, *Richardsons erster Roman* . . . (Berlin, 1917), pp. 149f.

Haake, the first translator of Milton, Gottlieb von Berge, his second translator, Georg Weckherlin, the predecessor and successor of Milton as secretary of foreign affairs, Philip Zesen, and Christian Wernicke.<sup>7</sup> The last named five may be regarded as purveyors to Germany of English literary tendencies. In the 18th century a much longer roll of names could be recorded.

And yet—and here is where we may profitably begin our search—direct contacts did exist between England and Germany during the period, and the place of contact was Holland. Holland was at that time the land of the free-thinkers and the home of the brave refugees. The broadest toleration in Europe prevailed here. Orthodox Calvinism was the religion of the majority of the inhabitants, but there were also Calvinists of the Arminian heresy, Lutherans, Quakers, Mennonites, Anabaptists, Moravians (Herrenhüter), Presbyterians, and Anglicans. The Jews had their synagogue and Catholics were allowed to worship, though not in places designated as churches. It will suffice to speak of only two centers of intellectual interchange in Holland, namely Leyden and Amsterdam.

Holland was noted for universities of high repute, among which Leyden was long pre-eminent. Schöffler has ascertained that between 1650 and 1700 no less than 250 students from Switzerland studied in Leyden.<sup>8</sup> He gives us no statistics regarding Utrecht, Groningen, Frankener, and Harderwijk. The Swiss students were sent thither, of course, chiefly to learn the pure doctrine of Calvin, but as the century wore on more and more, they brought home the views of Descartes and the custom of pipe smoking—the beginning of an utterly unclerical manner of living. Among the Germans who studied in Leyden may be mentioned Opitz, Gryphius, and Hofmannswaldau and, in the early 18th century, Brockes and Haller.

Schöffler's statistics regarding the Zürich students led me to make a similar count of British students and I find there were 965 of these between 1650 and 1700<sup>9</sup> as against the 250 from Switzerland. In an average year there would be twenty British students at the university as against five students from Switzerland. The students, we may be sure, were confined to each other's company, for the most part, for town and gown (meaning here dressing gown) did not mingle. Haller wrote:

<sup>7</sup> For details see Franz Muncker, *Anschanungen vom englischen Staat und Volk in der deutschen Literatur der letzten vier Jahrhunderte*, Teil 1. "Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaften," philologisch-philologische und historische Klasse. Jahrgang 1918, 3. Abhandlung, pp. 4-26.

<sup>8</sup> Schöffler, *Das literarische Zürich*, p. 15.

<sup>9</sup> Edward Peacock, *Index to English speaking students who have graduated at Leyden university*. Index society publications, XIII (London, 1883).

Leyden in's besondere scheint mit Fleiß zum Nutzen der Lernenden bequem gemacht zu sein. Man lebt in völliger Freyheit und geht unangefochten im Schlafroke durch die Straßen; man findet keine Gesellschaft als von gleichem Stande, dann die Holländer sind kalt und ihr Frauenzimmer vor denen sog. *Studiosis* verschlossen, welcher Umstand alleine einem Menschen deß Jahres viel Geld und manche Stunde erspart. Einer frischt den andern mit seinem Beyspiele an, und wer nicht arbeiten will, muß lange Weile und verdrüßlichen Müßiggang erwarten.<sup>10</sup>

Elsewhere Haller tells us that Boerhave had about 120 students. Of these, he says, forty were English and twenty German. The others were French, Dutch, "nordische Völker" and "bisweilen Griechen."<sup>11</sup> There were about 400 students in all at Leyden at the time. Whether they conversed among themselves in French or in Latin, variously mispronounced, is not indicated, but there was certainly no language difficulty to bar the way to intercourse.

Amsterdam was a center of a somewhat different type. It was a goal of travelers and a sanctuary of refugees. Its orientation toward France was stronger than was Utrecht's. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries nearly a hundred Frenchmen of note visited Holland and wrote up their impressions. Among them may be mentioned: Scaliger, Descartes, Pierre Bayle, Le Clerc, Colbert, the Abbé Prévost, Montesquieu, Voltaire, the Abbé Reynal, and Diderot.<sup>12</sup> Amsterdam was the center of the publishing trade in Holland, and here appeared journals which marked the most advanced thought of the day, among them the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* of Bayle (1684-1689), the *Bibliothèque universelle et historique* of Le Clerc (1686-1693),<sup>13</sup> as well as the first continental translations of the English *Spectator* and *Guardian*. Here appeared also the first continental translations of Pope's *Essay on Man* and *Essay on Criticism*, Richardson's *Pamela* and Fielding's *Joseph Andrews*. These translations were all published in Amsterdam in French.<sup>14</sup> Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* and his *Tale of a Tub* first appeared in like form at the Hague.

<sup>10</sup> Albrecht von Haller, *Tagebuch seiner Reisen nach Deutschland, Holland und England, 1723-1727*, ed. Hirzel, Leipzig, 1883; p. 27f.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 106; cf. p. 38.

<sup>12</sup> Roelof Murris, *La Hollande et les Hollandais au XVII<sup>e</sup> et au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles vus par les Français . . .* (Paris: Champion, 1925).

<sup>13</sup> Hendrika J. Reesink, *L'Angleterre et la littérature anglaise dans les trois plus anciens périodiques français de Hollande de 1684-1709* (Zutphen, 1931). Pp. 443. Reesink's third journal is the *Histoire des ouvrages des savans of Basnage de Beauval*, Rotterdam, 1687-1709.

<sup>14</sup> Marce Blaßneck, *Frankreich als Vermittler englisch-deutscher Einflüsse im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Kölner anglistische Studien, XX), Leipzig, 1934.

English divines played a prominent part in the course of events in Holland. Persecution at home drove thither William Ames in time to play an important rôle in the Dordrecht synod. He taught twelve years at the University of Frankener. His most important work was *De conscientia, ejus jure et casibus* (Amsterdam, 1632), translated by Harsdoerffer (Nuremberg, 1654). His most notable pupil was Gisbert Voetius, professor of theology at Utrecht, who translated the *Praxis pietatis* of Lewis Bayley. Viëtor makes it appear probable that during his stay in Holland, Gryphius became well aware of the new tendencies abroad and may even have become acquainted with the personalities involved. Gryphius himself translated only two works from the English, but both were of a religious nature and both were by Richard Baxter.<sup>15</sup> He owed to Hofmann von Hofmannswaldau the original of these works.

Gilbert Burnet, later Bishop of Salisbury, learned Hebrew during his first stay in Holland. Later he had to flee thither to escape persecution under the rule of James II. He was warmly received by William of Orange, became well acquainted with the Swiss refugee Le Clerc, acquired Dutch citizenship to gain additional security, married a woman of Scottish and Dutch ancestry, and returned to England with William of Orange, whose coronation and funeral sermons he preached. Numerous works of Burnet were translated into German, most of them passing over by way of Holland.

John Locke's *Essay of Human Understanding* was brought to completion while its author was living in Amsterdam, concealed under the name of Van der Linden. Its contents were first made known to the world by an outline which appeared in 1688 in the *Bibliothèque universelle* of his friend Le Clerc, a fugitive from the too rigid Calvinism of Geneva. The first Latin edition of the *Essay* was published in London in 1701, the second in Amsterdam in 1729, whence it passed to Leipzig in 1757. Here it may be noted that the first complete edition of Bacon's works was published in Frankfurt in the year 1665, the second and third in Amsterdam, 1684 and 1685.

After circulating many years in manuscript only, Muralt's *Lettres sur les Anglois et les François* first saw the light (one letter only) in the *Nouvelles littéraires de la Haye*, seven years before publication in entirety. Francis Hutcheson's *Inquiry into the Original of Beauty and Virtue* (1725) was reviewed by Le Clerc in Amsterdam the following year and translated into French, in Amsterdam, in 1749. (The first German translation dates from 1760.)

<sup>15</sup> Karl Viëtor, *Probleme der deutschen Barockliteratur* (Leipzig, 1928), p. 32.



Sir Thomas Browne, after making the grand tour through Europe, paused at Leyden to take his degree in medicine. The unauthorized edition of his *Religio medici* appeared in London shortly afterward, 1642; the corrected edition, 1643; the first Latin edition in Amsterdam, 1644; the first Dutch edition, 1665. In 1668 it was translated from the Dutch into French. The first German translation known bears the date 1680; from what language it was translated I have not ascertained.

Not everyone knows that Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* and others of his works were first translated into Dutch (*Pilgrim's Progress*, 1679) and thence into German. The German translator of *Pilgrim's Progress*, Amsterdam, 1685, was Pastor Seidel, who was closely connected with the inner circle of Pietism, with Joh. Philip Spener and with Canstein, the founder of the Cansteinische Bibelgesellschaft, the products of which were printed at Halle am Waysenhaus.<sup>16</sup> The first French edition of the *Pilgrim's Progress* was also published in Amsterdam, 1685, the second in Amsterdam, 1703, the third in Basel, 1717, the fourth in Rotterdam, 1722, the fifth in Halle, am Waysenhaus, 1752, and not until much later did an edition appear on French soil, Toulouse, 1788. Meanwhile there were many German editions of the *Pilgrim's Progress*. The ones published at Ephrata and at Germantown, Pennsylvania, 1754 and 1755, testify to the continued interest of the Herrnhüter in the work.

Among the notable refugees or temporary home seekers or visitors in Holland were Sir William Temple, Shaftesbury, and William Brewster and William Bradford, who left with their flock for New England.

A few years ago a work by Blaßneck appeared, *Frankreich als Vermittler englisch-deutscher Einflüsse im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*. On the first reading, at the time, I missed the main point of the work, and I believe the author missed it as well, for it is only vaguely suggested in a final reservation. Books are discussed in the text and listed in the bibliography which appeared first in English, then in French, and which were then translated from the French into German; but of the French translations involved, only two appeared first on French soil, three appeared first in Switzerland, and twenty-four appeared first in Holland, most of them in Amsterdam. What we need is a monograph on "Holland als Vermittler englisch-deutscher Einflüsse im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert." Such a treatise should take cognizance of English works published in Holland whether in English, Dutch, Latin, or French.

<sup>16</sup> R. A. Eifert, "Translations of Bunyan's works in Germany," (an unpublished essay); Cf. Reesink, pp. 149f.

After the beginning of the 18th century, and especially after the accession to the English throne of William of Orange in 1689, there was less need for English dissenters to flee to Holland, but Holland continued for a considerable period of time to serve as a gateway whereby English literature found its entrance into Germany. To mention only one striking incident—it was the Amsterdam *Spectateur ou Le socrate moderne*, 1714-1726, which fell into Bodmer's hands in the year 1718 and which suggested to him the organization of the *Discourse der Mahlern* (1722f.). But the Milton essays were lacking in the *Spectateur*, and of Milton, Bodmer learned first from other sources, very probably from an extensive review of *Paradise Lost* which had appeared in the Amsterdam *Journal littéraire* as early as 1717.<sup>17</sup> It was with difficulty that he procured a copy of the original. He received it, however, from his friend Zellweger about in August, 1723. Hans Bodmer suggests that Zellweger may have discovered Milton while he was a student in Holland.<sup>18</sup> Bodmer believed Zellweger's copy to have been the only one between the Rhine and the Reuss.

If we finally turn our attention again to the field of theology we find several other men whose influence first found entrance into Germany by way of the Holland gate. To the before-mentioned Bacon, Burnet, Browne, Bunyan, Baxter, Brewster, and Bradford, we may add the names of such worthies as Jeremiah Burroughs, J. Baker, and Robert Barclay the Quaker, and if this sounds too much like a fable of the B's, that is due to the present state of *Der deutsche Gesamtkatalog*. When seventy-five years have passed the list will be less alliterative and more comprehensive.

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<sup>17</sup> *Loc. cit.*, IX (1717), 157-216.

<sup>18</sup> Hans Bodmer, *Die Anfänge des zürcherischen Miltons in Studien zur Literatur, Michael Bernays gewidmet* . . . (Hamburg and Leipzig, 1893), pp. 182 and 185.

## REVIEWS

*Renaissance Literary Theory and Practice.* Classicism in the Rhetoric and Poetic of Italy, France, and England, 1400-1600. By CHARLES SEARS BALDWIN. New York: Columbia University Press, 1939. Pp. xiv+251. \$2.75.

*Studies in Early Tudor Criticism, Linguistic and Literary.* By ELIZABETH J. SWEETING. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1940. Pp. xvi+177.

*Oratio in Laudem Artis Poeticae* by John Rainolds. Introduction and Commentary by WILLIAM RINGLER and English Translation by WALTER ALLEN, Jr. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1940. Pp. 93.

*Rhetoric in Spenser's Poetry.* By HERBERT DAVID RIX. The Pennsylvania State College Studies, No. 7, State College, Pennsylvania, 1940. Pp. 88.

*Renaissance Literary Theory and Practice* brings down to 1600 the sequence of studies which Professor Baldwin inaugurated with his *Ancient Rhetoric and Poetic* in 1924 and followed with his *Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic* four years later. Baldwin did not live to see this third volume in print but the partially completed manuscript was prepared for publication by his erstwhile student and later colleague, Professor Donald Lemen Clark. As Clark's own brief but admirable volume, *Rhetoric and Poetry in the Renaissance* (1922), and Spingarn's *History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance* (1899) trace the flow of rhetorical and poetic theory in the period, Baldwin could assume that this background was established. To be sure, he devotes a few pages to the rhetorics and a concise chapter to the poetics but only by way of completeness. Aside from these, after an opening chapter on The Renaissance as a Literary Period and a following chapter on Latin, Greek and the Vernaculars, the volume deals with literary forms, not so much by way of a history as to illustrate the influence of theory, sound or unsound, on practice. Orations, letters, lyrics, pastorals, romances, drama, tales, history and essays all come in for consideration.

As Baldwin was a confirmed Aristotelian, severely basing his literary canons upon the *Rhetoric* and the *Poetics*, his conclusions will have no surprises for those acquainted from earlier works with his point of view. Tasso, with his epic sense of narrative, is supreme among the writers of romance, and Machiavelli, with his sure fusion of narrative and exposition, among the historians. Indeed, the concluding sentences of the chapter on Drama anticipate the high place that would have been assigned to Corneille if a fourth volume had been written:

Sixteenth-century stage experience, then, as well as classical theory and imitation, opened the great drama of the seventeenth century. The experience of court shows with the feebleness of allegory, the escape of pastoral, the vitality of rustic realism, opened the way for both romantic and realistic comedy. The experience of the "histories" opened a new appeal in tragedy. For Corneille, as well as Shakespeare, was a man of the stage.

Admirers of Spenser will doubtless feel that scant justice is done him. The best that can be said for the *Shepherd's Calendar* is that its significance resides not in "its pastoral achievement, but its use of the mode to win recognition and its attempt to push pastoral farther that it would go," and for the *Faerie Queene* that "The poem does not carry through," and that "Today those who have read the six books are inclined to boast." And yet Spenser is the poet's poet. Ariosto, in turn, was "one of these Alexandrians" who "revived the Ancient world in Alexandrian decadence, saw in Virgil only his high style, conceived poetic as rhetoric, and ran after the 'Greek Romances.'" True, but only a half truth. As for the narrative art of the romancers, is there not something to be said for road-side delights? Perhaps, after all, they may be the most memorable part of a trip.

But however the reader may differ in his judgments of individual writers, he cannot fail to be stimulated by the ripe scholarship of one who ranges over so wide an area with such easy familiarity, the fruit of a lifetime of intimate associations.

Professor Clark is authority for the statement that if Baldwin had lived he would have added "a chapter on Renaissance education which would have demonstrated more fully the channels through which poetical theory reached poetical practice." The loss of this chapter is much to be regretted for it was a subject which Baldwin would have handled in masterly fashion. No doubt he would also have revised much of the text—a task which Professor Clark would hardly have felt free to undertake—for the style is uneven. Some paragraphs are made up entirely of a monotonous succession of short declarative sentences, which read like notes reserved for enlargement and coordination, and the relation of modifiers is not infrequently uncertain.

Miss Sweeting's study of early Tudor criticism was presented as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts at the University of London. The author expresses special indebtedness to Professor A. W. Reed and to Miss Gladys D. Willcock, and the sponsorship of two such excellent scholars predisposes one in favor of the book.

The essence of the study is contained in the final paragraph of the Conclusion:

It was the partisan enthusiasm for language which provided the spark of energy which fires men of this period, unifies their many intellectual interests and gives life to their study of inherited learning. The result of this competitive energy is to transform the static into the dynamic; the traditional rhetoric is metamorphosed into the most keenly debated topic of contemporary criticism. There was rivalry between individuals, between *côteries* and between nations. The assertion of scholarly prowess, the championing

and vindication of the vernacular to offset the claims, loudly voiced, of the other European countries, were the concern of every patriotic English man of letters, whether poet, dramatist or translator and of the new reading public. The passion for language was no artificial or pedantic revival. It has the vitality of judgments made independently of foreign or classical borrowing and proved upon the pulses. The later Scaligerian and Italianate elements superimposed in the reign of Elizabeth were and remained more foreign. The way to criticism through language was proved in the Early Tudor period to be the natural and "native" way. Men had begun to "compt halfe a God . . . such a one assuredly that can plainly, distinctly, ple[n]tifully, and aptly vtter bothe wordes and matter" and to see that such comprehension lies at the root of literary excellence.

Reduced to its lowest terms the thesis is that in the pre-Elizabethan period concern for an adequate language resulted in the temporary triumph of the plain style over the traditional ornate style fostered by the late classical and medieval rhetorics, and sharpened the critical sense. The early decades of the period find Caxton, the admirer of Chaucer rather than of Lydgate, resolutely adhering to strong, direct and simple diction in contrast to Lord Berners, who cultivated the "facundious art of Rhetorike." Gavin Douglas and Hawes offer a similar contrast. Those writers who regard literature as an elegant pastime for the elite cultivated the florid style; those who sought a larger public, the plain. This conflict inevitably encouraged the critical attitude.

The plain style was championed also by the translators. Whether concerned with the translation of the Bible or of secular literature, these men necessarily chose the style best suited to their audience and clarity was the first consideration.

This interest in an effective native diction found further support in the recently-discovered classics and the recovery of Quintilian's *De Institutione Oratoria* which offered new models for creative writing, stimulated the discussion of literary criteria and restored the classical conception of rhetoric, correcting the distorted emphasis upon *elocutio* that had maintained for so many centuries. The Magdalen College School group, which included such teachers as John Stanbridge and Robert Whittinton, and the Cambridge circle, which included Cheke, Sir Thomas Smith, Ascham, Elyot and Wilson, sought equally to establish sound rhetorical principles and a standard literary speech that should be pure, lucid, succinct. In the words of Wilson, they were aware that "'either we must make a difference of Englishe, and saie some is learned Englishe, and other some is rude Englishe, or the one is courte talke, the other is couñtre speache, or els we must of necessitee, banishe al such affected Rhetorique, and vse altogether one maner of lāguage.' This is the spirit and accent of the mid-Tudor world; it in no way diminishes the critical achievement of these men that in the succeeding Elizabethan phase, though the Cambridge tradition was continued by men such as Puttenham and Mulcaster, changes of fashion gave a new lease of life to 'affected Rhetorique' and deferred for many years the coming of the 'one maner of lāguage.'"

While recognizing that no defined body of criticism as such was produced in this period, Miss Sweeting seeks to show that well-founded critical habits were established and handed on to the Elizabethans. Yet in a sense the title of the book is somewhat misleading, for the emphasis is rather more upon the triumph of the vernacular than upon the maturing critical judgment and standards that attended the process.

Moreover, the brevity of the book, in view of the large amount of ground covered, precludes the light and shade which completeness of interpretation requires. For example, while Ascham did have faith in the potentialities of the English language and sought to make it an effective instrument for expressing the most exacting ideas, as Baldwin remarks he "missed altogether the tradition of English poetry" and championed classical metres. Again, Richard Sherry can hardly be credited with having given much stimulus and encouragement to an awakening interest in classical standards, for his rhetoric, as the title implies, *A Treatise of Schemes and Tropes*, was almost exclusively devoted to one branch of the subject, *elocutio*, and is quite in line with the medieval tradition. In this connection one should not overlook the fact that the new interest in the vernacular actually encouraged the exaggerated use of the figures because it furnished a novel medium for experimentation. Puttenham also is more in the medieval rhetorical tradition than in the classical, more a successor of Sherry than of Wilson, and by his emphasis upon the figures encouraged the affectations of the Elizabethans. Again, Miss Sweeting's observation that the idea of rhetorical practice as standing primarily for elaboration and ornamentation of language "persisted in the fifteenth and earlier sixteenth centuries," is misleading, for as a matter of fact it persisted to the middle of the seventeenth century, as Professor Clark makes abundantly clear in his *Rhetoric and Poetry in the Renaissance*.

Finally, the chapters on Education: Tutor and Schoolmaster and The Universities are much too partial. Professor Berdan's discussions of the medieval, scholastic and classical traditions, in his *Early Tudor Poetry*, a learned work upon which Miss Sweeting seems not to have drawn, give a more qualified and complete interpretation of the impact of these three traditions on the critical habits and the creative expression of Tudor scholars and poets than is furnished by this more recent and briefer study.

But despite these reservations on secondary points, Miss Sweeting's fundamental contention stands, and we are indebted to her for focusing attention upon it in an interesting and well-written volume.

Baldwin's chapter on Sixteenth-century Poetics concludes with the remark that "Even to the end of the sixteenth century, Renaissance poetic was largely rhetoric." John Rainolds' *In Laudem Artis Poeticae*, now made available in an excellent edition, illustrates and supports this generalization. Although it did not appear in print

until 1614, seven years after Rainolds' death, when his friend and former pupil, Henry Jackson, edited a volume of his works which appeared under the title *Orationes Duodecim; cum alijs quibusdam opusculis*. Mr. Ringler presents satisfactory evidence to show that Rainolds delivered it as respondent in a Master of Arts disputation at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, on July 14, 1572. It may therefore be taken as representative of the academic teaching of the time.

The speech is organized in accordance with the principles laid down by Cicero, but it is developed in the aureate style of the medieval rhetorical tradition. To use the text-book terms, with respect to *inventio* and *distributio* it is Ciceronian, with respect to *elocutio*, medieval. It opens with an *exordium*, designed to gain a favorable hearing. "This he followed with a *partitio*, . . . in which he said he would demonstrate, first, the excellence of poetry's origin, second, its intrinsic worth, and, finally, the profit to be derived from reading it. Next came the *propositio*, . . . in which he explained that it was his purpose to show that poetry is 'in origin divine, in worth pre-eminent, and in usefulness indispensable.' The remainder of his oration Rainolds devoted to the *confirmatio*, or proof, which he divided into three parts conformable to the three points of his *propositio*." As Jackson did not have a complete manuscript, however, the proof for the third point and the peroration are lacking.

The style throughout is pompous and inflated. It is repetitious and exuberant, surcharged with allusions, illustrations and sententiae, weighted with antitheses, alliterations, balanced phrases and apostrophes. One needs only a Prince Hal or a Falstaff to turn it into complete burlesque.

The author makes a vast display of learning and seemingly draws with easy familiarity upon over forty writers, ancient or modern; Mr. Ringler, however, has deflated this bubble and reduced Rainolds' sources to a bare dozen, showing that while acquainted—as any University man would be—with Horace, Justin, Ovid, Pliny, Quintilian, Terence, Virgil and Cicero, he found the sources for much of his illustrative material in the *Apophtegmata* of Lycosthenes, the *Facetiarum Exemplorumque Libri VII* of Brusonius, and the *De Incertitudine et Vanitate Artium et Scientiarum* of Agrippa. For example, Plato is thus handsomely employed in defence of poetry:

Is it true that Plato—a man, good God, of exceptional integrity and wisdom!—banishes poets from his commonwealth? In his works poets are often and earnestly praised as divine; in many places in the *Phaedo*, because by their witness the indestructibility of the soul is confirmed. In the *Alcibiades* they are said to wrap their golden thoughts in the obscuring folds of enigmas which only the good may understand. In the *Lysis* they are called the generals of learning, the princes of knowledge, the parents of wisdom; the parents of wisdom, I insist. In the *Ion*, what doctrine is taught but that the men who are seized by poetical frenzy are raised to a loftier plane by a certain divine power than those who are devoted to the pursuit of mortal things. In the *Apology* Socrates puts such a high value on conversation with poets that he prays to die many times, if that be possible, in order to talk



with Orpheus, Musaeus, Homer, and Hesiod. Then in the *Laws* the grave works of poets are thought to be suited for educating young men honorably in the learning which befits free men.

Finally, in the *Republic*, poets are held not merely as servants of the gods, which is great praise; but as prophets of the gods, which is greater; and as sons of the gods, which is greatest of all. Poets, therefore, should be praised because they set down the words of noble men wisely and their deeds with constancy and ornament. But why do I take time in mentioning such things, especially since the works of Plato everywhere glisten, studded with gems so to speak from the poets?

This imposing array of learning, much of it actually false, was filched from commonplace books and other second-hand sources.

In line with the medieval tradition, Rainolds looked upon poetry as essentially rhetoric. "The surprising thing about Rainolds' sources," observes Mr. Ringler, "is that, with the exception of Cicero's *Pro Archia*, no essays on poetry are included among them. The Italian critics, whose influence some scholars have so greatly magnified, are conspicuously absent. The works of the ancients, such as Aristotle's *Poetics*, or even Plutarch's *Quomodo Adolescens Poetas Audire Debeat*, are ignored. The prime sources of Rainolds' ideas are not treatises on poetic, but treatises on rhetoric." Again, "The effect of poetry is, in essence, the effect of oratory, and the highest praise Rainolds can find to heap upon it is to say it is a superior kind of rhetoric—superior to ordinary rhetoric because of its fixed rhythm, its meter." Like rhetoric, poetry was not only to teach and to delight, but even more to move.

Mr. Ringler has provided a good introduction, which places Rainolds, both as a man and a writer, and an adequate body of notes which furnish the sources for most of the ideas. Mr. Allen has furnished an excellent translation, keeping the spirit and even the verbal tricks of the original. The volume is most welcome because it shows clearly how poetry was regarded in the universities.

How a gifted poet applied these rhetorical principles in which he had been so carefully tutored during his school and university days is shown in Dr. Rix's *Rhetoric in Spenser's Poetry*. Following a brief introductory chapter on Rhetoric in Sixteenth Century England, which, in line with the conclusions of Clark and Baldwin, holds that so far as *elocutio* was concerned the sixteenth century rhetorical theory remained essentially medieval, as evidenced by the fact that the *Epitome Troporum ac Schematum* of Susenbrotus enjoyed great vogue as a Renaissance text book, the figures, divided into tropes, schemes of words, and schemes of thought and amplification, are defined and then illustrated from Spenser's poetry. The definitions are taken from the *Epitome* and Henry Peacham's *The Garden of Eloquence*, and the illustrations, so far as available, from Alexander Gill's *Logonomia Anglica*, Gill having chosen his examples from Spenser. A third chapter is devoted to Spenser's Treatment of the Figures. It is shown how these rhetorical patterns—which are much more characteristic of the complaints and elegiac

poems, of the carefully contrived *Amoretti* and the exuberant *Epithalamion*, and of the descriptive, lyrical or argumentative passages of the *Faerie Queene*, than of the formal satire of *Mother Hubberds Tale*, the stereotyped "visions," and the narrative parts of the *Faerie Queene*—are employed to build out stanzas, blocks of verse, and almost entire poems.

The study concludes with a statement which no student of Spenser who has attentively followed the author will feel inclined to question:

Granting that the figures may be abused, that is, used recklessly for the sole purpose of decoration, we may nevertheless claim for them a place of merit in the creation of great poetry. To Spenser they provided indispensable aid in matters of arrangement and structure, characterization and description, amplification and mood, accommodation of style to subject, and the musical qualities of which he is a supreme master. The observation of Professor Renwick that their rhetorical practice gave the Elizabethan poets a "greater control over language than their elders and greater facility and copiousness than their modern descendants," is by no means an overstatement. For in truth rhetoric must be accounted one of the forces that helped raise English poetry from the depths to which it had fallen after the death of Chaucer to the magnificent summit it attained in the age of Elizabeth.

There are three appendixes. In one the authorship of the "Doleful Lay of Clorinda" is assigned to Spenser on the basis of style; in another the fable of the February eclogue is analyzed from the rhetorical point of view; and in a third the speech of Mutability (*Faerie Queene* 7.7.14-56) is examined as a formal oration, having "the five divisions appropriate to Judicial oratory": *exordium*, *narratio*, *confirmatio*, *refutatio*, and *peroratio*.

As one student of Spenser, this reviewer feels much indebted to Mr. Rix for clarifying a subject about which he has long wished to be better informed. In the light of this study, the reading of Spenser takes on an added pleasure, giving, as it does, a more lively sense of the poet as a conscious and deliberate artist.

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*A Bibliography of Italian Dialect Dictionaries.* By ALBERTO D'ELIA. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940. Pp. 98. 50c. (The University of North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, No. 1.)

The recent volume entitled *A Bibliography of Italian Dialect Dictionaries* compiled by Alberto D'Elia and published by the University of North Carolina as the opening number of a series entitled *Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures* is not exactly what one would be led to expect by the title. It lists not only dictionaries but also general works, articles on phonology, morphol-

ogy and syntax, and also a few articles on specific words. It might have been better if the compiler had more specifically defined his field and limited himself to it. A good critical bibliography of Italian Dialect dictionaries would be very useful, especially since such dictionaries are quite numerous and most libraries or individuals cannot afford to get them all, but many would like to possess the best for several different dialects. No indication is given as to which works the compiler has consulted, and to which ones he has not been able to gain access. The monumental dictionaries of Traina for Sicilian and Sant'Albino for Piedmontese are listed in precisely the same way as the *dizionarii tascabili* of fifty to 300 pages. A few lines of comment on each of the major works would have been in order and would have been of great use to the reader.

The order in which the dialects are treated is unique. The Tuscan are first treated, probably because they are closest to the "literary Italian," but the dialects of Umbria and Latium, instead of being classified with the Tuscan, are put into a third group of *Central and Southern dialects*, of which the first group is Sicilian and Calabrian, and the second Neapolitan, Apulian, Abruzzese, etc.! Why should not the dialects of Tuscany, Umbria, and Latium be classified together as Central and kept apart from Neapolitan and Sicilian which are so totally different that they may be regarded from the linguistic point of view as forming different languages?

Many of the listings are confusing. The first listing in Sicilian is *Alighieri Dante, La Divina Commedia (Traduzione in dialetto siciliano di Filippo Guastella)*. It is true that one may be interested in finding a Sicilian translation of the *Divine Comedy* and it may be well to list the work in this fashion (perhaps in parentheses), but the dialect text is really Guastella's and belongs under his name. The same may be said concerning the numerous translations of the Bible into the various dialects, where we find *Bible* regularly in place of the name of the author. The works of Giovanni Meli (item 248) are cited in the Santoro edition of 1847 instead of the Rampolla edition of 1915 which is much better done. If an earlier edition was to be cited, why not the first edition, that of 1814, which was corrected by the author himself?

Items 52 and 53 (Pietro Mignosi's *Dialettica and Introduzione alla dialettica*) would not seem to belong among dialect studies at all, nor should Keller on the *patois genevois* be listed under Genoese (item 686)! Item 527 lists Buonamici's *dialetto falisco* as an Umbrian Italian dialect. Is it not rather Italic? Bertoldi's *Monaci e il popolo* (item 1058) is listed under the dialect of Monaco!

There are many misprints, some of them very serious. The worst is on page 49 where two lines belonging to item 489 appear in reverse order under item 485. In the list of abbreviations *Arch. Glott.* is given as referring to the *Archeologico Glottologico*. On page 37 *Campania* is misspelled four times. On page 55 (item 621) *Piemonte* is spelled *Piedmont*. On page 72 *Faentino* appears as

*Factino*. Minor misprints are too numerous to list. In dealing with individual dialects, sometimes the compiler lists them under the name of a town or locality and sometimes under the adjective derived from the name. As an example, we may cite the local Sicilian dialects which appear under the following headings: *Bivonia*, *Caltagironese* (for *Caltagironese*), *Girgentino*, *Marsalese*, *Messina*, *Modicano*, *Nicosia*, *Noto*, *Palermo*, *Piazzese* (Piazza Armerina), *Sanfratellese*, *Sciacca*, *Tergestino* (!), *Trapanese*. It would seem that either the noun or the adjective could be used consistently in all cases. How Tergestino could be classified as a Sicilian dialect is a mystery to the reviewer.

Although incomplete as a bibliography of dialect studies and abounding in misprints (and listing several articles which have no direct bearing upon dialect work) the publication has its good points and can be used advantageously by one who is willing to overlook or correct the misprints. If the author had limited himself to dialect dictionaries, as announced in the title, he would have given us a much more satisfactory work.

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*Marcel Proust and his French Critics*. By DOUGLAS W. ALDEN. LOS Angeles: Lymanhouse, 1940. Pp. 259.

Professor Alden's volume is a repertory of what the critics have said on the subject of Proust and, as such, an index would have been most valuable in it. It follows the chronological order, retracing the curve of Proust's reputation. The work contains an abundant bibliography, its most important part covering 88 pages and taken not only from books and magazines but also newspaper articles. The author reports that Pierre-Quint used it for the Proustian exhibit at the Paris exhibition of 1937.

The book is somewhat disappointing in its exposition of French literary currents, its effort to discern a French literary point of view, and its interpretation of contemporary events.

The preface announces that around Proust "Will flow the principal literary currents of his time." But the promise is not fulfilled. For instance: Proust, the author reminds us, satisfied those who, after the war of 1914 looked for tranquillity and escapism. Others, averse to those tendencies, looked to Dorgelès, Proust's competitor for the Goncourt prize, as the one of the two "capable of inaugurating a new literary tradition" (p. 35). The reader would like to learn something about the latter group and their movement if they formed one, and to learn why Dorgelès gave such hopes. In the same connection, it is likewise not explained why Léon Daudet, the champion of Proust for the Goncourt, abandoned the cause of Proust and began complaining that he gave a "false image of life." Were there political reasons?

The following statement stands in evidence:

The mind and soul of France are classical. Although, momentarily, a few revolutionaries may attempt to overcome the inertia of established tradition, their success is brief and superficial (p. 40).

Several criticisms can be raised: the author contradicts himself on page 56 where we read that the post-war man was becoming a primitive (Bergson and Rimbaud are given as examples to prove the latter assertion). Then the post-war Frenchman was no longer a classicist? Moreover from what standpoint can he be called a primitive? The word is too vague and needs definition. Thirdly, what appears to Professor Alden as the most striking feature of France's artistic tradition is its inertia. Then how can we account for the fact that France has been so well represented in the artistic movement, e.g., cubism and surrealism?

Another statement is perhaps equally controversial:

In religion, post-war man did not seek a solace but a means of enjoyment, still another sensation; frequent were the conversions to an *emotional* type of Catholicism at this time (p. 57). [*Italics mine.*]

No one is named and the reader wonders who are the emotional converts of the post-war period. Roughly speaking the conversions among literary men dated from the eve of the 1914 war and began with Psichari and Péguy. They did not differ in quality from those that came after, as far as the reviewer can see; but were part of the same movement. Were they emotional? The adjective "emotional" is often a convenient means to assume a position of superiority and to reserve "reason" and "science" for oneself. It should be avoided. Whether we adhere to a religious dogma or to a totalitarian dogma or to "the liberal" dogma, we profess our creed with our entire self, emotions included. A convert like Léon Daudet could by his talent have won great honors and probably greater financial rewards if, instead of joining the opposition to the regime, he had served the philosophy of the Revolution and of the third Republic. This detachment does not make him an emotional case. Péguy's spirit seems to lead, in France at least, those who see growing the seeds of anarchy contained in the "liberal" philosophy of the French Revolution and seek a remedy. Péguy insisted that in changing from socialism to Christian socialism he underwent: "Non pas un changement mais un approfondissement." He felt in his mind a deepening of the concept of democracy. The path opened by him was widely followed. Many writers of France: Maurras, Bernanos, Fernandez, Van der Meersch criticized the "liberal" ideas. Around 1930 the implications of Péguy's doctrine and action were put into life and began to grow. The religious sought to obtain "the liberties of which they had been deprived in the name of Liberty," together with the adequate economic foundations of true liberty. It suffices to cite as examples the jocist organization of labor which irradiated from Belgium and the new *modus vivendi* of education in Holland.

We are faced here with a new world outlook, probably peculiar to Western civilization, which is as real as totalitarianism and "liberalism." It should not be dismissed by the little word "emotional."

Interest is aroused throughout the book by an occasional judgment of Professor Alden, but upon which he unfortunately does not expand. Two pages are devoted to influences and parallelisms. One of them mentions Proust's influence on Gide's *Corydon* and, for preciousness or "impressionisme littéraire" on Giraudoux. The other is devoted to the interest displayed in Proust about 1928 due to the then dominant surrealist trend: "The intuition of the oneness in Proust, likewise sensorial, is precisely a form of surrealism," says Professor Alden. Pages such as these are too few in the book.

JEAN DAVID

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Voltaire's "*Poème sur la loi naturelle*," A Critical Edition. By FRANCIS J. CROWLEY. Publications of the University of California at Los Angeles, Vol. 1, no. 4, pp. 177-304.

Professor Crowley has succeeded to a great extent in achieving the aim he had in view. That aim was to win due recognition for the above poem. We should not conclude from this statement, as Professor Norman Torrey has said, that the *Poème sur la loi Naturelle* must be given as much importance as the *Traité de Métaphysique* or the *Dictionnaire Philosophique* as an expression of Voltaire's deistic belief. On the other hand Professor Crowley wisely points out the particular interest that attaches to the poem he has edited. Whereas Voltaire spoke merely as philosopher in other works, like the *Traité de Métaphysique* and the *Dictionnaire Philosophique*, he turned social reformer in the present verses, where he showed in Frederick his ideal of a ruler. Moreover Professor Crowley has substantiated the view that not only revealed religions but also atheism were attacked in the poem. For he brings to light the fact that de la Mettrie's materialistic publication *L'Anti-Sénèque ou le Souverain Bien*, 1750, today extant at the Bibliothèque Nationale, was the occasion which impelled Voltaire to defend natural law.

Professor Crowley's introduction would probably have been clearer if he had not isolated so much the concept of natural law from what it opposed or tended to oppose in the course of history, namely the belief that personal relations exist between God and man. Since his avowed intention is to study natural law not from the legal but from the theological standpoint, he might have briefly outlined on what points it opposed antagonistic theologies. The concept of natural law, he thinks, was created by the Greeks. He might well have indicated how the relation between the concept of natural



law, or natural religion, and that of supernatural law, or the body of beliefs common to revealed religions, was understood. That omission seems to be the case for both "Roman Theology" and Christian theology. In Professor Crowley's words, "Roman theology found the concept of natural law a serviceable one." As for the Christians he cites: St. Paul and St. Augustine who "preach it as fundamental," The medieval forerunners of the 18th century rationalists, i.e., Latin averroists, such as Siger de Brabant, might have been mentioned also.

The reader derives from the poem of Voltaire a confused impression, which Professor Crowley does not entirely dissipate. The very title given by Voltaire tends to make the reader expect a poem in honor of natural law, not only in its metaphysical aspect, but also in its social aspect of universal justice. It is, therefore, strange to find in the book a eulogy of Frederick which has a strong totalitarian flavor. Voltaire praises Frederick for the following reason: there are no religious quarrels in Germany because Frederick, the sovereign, is a sage and because all orders emanate from him. Voltaire, therefore, seems a partisan of "real politik" and this implies a negation of natural law.

Note 18, page 278, explains Voltaire's "le Tartare indompté" of page 247, line 13, as an allusion to "adherents of Zoroaster." Now Voltaire and his century occasionally eulogized the Scythians, but very rarely, if at all, the Tartars. (Cf. my articles in *MLN*, Jan., 1938.) The latter were given none but a destructive part in the scheme of civilization as conceived by the eighteenth century. Moreover, Voltaire's citation of the Tartar here is adverse:

Mais détournons les yeux  
De cet impur amas d'imposteurs odieux.

On the contrary Voltaire held the Parsis and Zoroaster in reverence. One would like to know Professor Crowley's reasons for his belief.

Professor Crowley has shown well the social importance of Voltaire's poem and has produced new data which make us realize more fully the significance of the work.

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*German Dramatists of the 19th Century.* By F. W. KAUFMANN.  
Los Angeles: Lymanhouse, 1940. Pp. vi + 215. \$3.50.

Since the breakdown of Hegelian philosophy and the rejection of idealistic speculation, existential philosophy, most intimately associated with the contemporary German philosopher, Martin Heidegger, has had great vogue in Germany and latterly also in this country as an alternative to idealism. This philosophy, with its re-



discovery of the problem of Being, is made the basis for Kaufmann's literary interpretation of leading 19th century dramatists before naturalism (including the non-German Ibsen). This book constitutes an elaboration of his theory, advanced some years ago, that existential philosophy "offers a theoretical standpoint as a result of which we can more clearly distinguish between classical idealism and the realistic tendencies of the 19th century."<sup>1</sup> The collapse of idealistic faith and the process of reconciliation with the realities of their time Kaufmann demonstrates is the characteristic crisis through which most of these 19th century dramatists had to pass.

The author defines literature as an expression of the "problematic situation" of human life. The artist, unlike the average individual who never gains insight into the existential situation, discovers that conventions and traditions separate him from immediate contact with men and things. "Art is the result of a conflict between a stereotyped pattern of life and the self with its desire to penetrate to the essence of existence" (p. 2). Kaufmann's "only concern is that literature should be conceived of not as a manufactured product of reason, but as an outgrowth of the artist's serious struggle with the problems which beset him and his time" (p. 3).

Stimulating and valuable as the synthetic, "ideengeschichtliche," *a priori* method of literary criticism may be, certain limitations are inherent in it. When light is focussed on a single aspect, totality of impression is lost. Differentiation and individuation may be sacrificed to the schematic, the typical, where the dramatic process of each dramatist is explained in terms of a fixed formula. A literary interpretation that centers interest exclusively on development of a problem finds Grillparzer's *Blanka von Kastilien* and Ludwig's *Die Rechte des Herzens* hardly less fascinating than *Das Goldene Vlies* and *Der Erbförster*. The statement: "For literary interpretation, therefore, a work less perfect esthetically may be more valuable than one of greater perfection, written at a period when the author has reached the solution of his existential problem as far as he is able, and when he writes merely for the sake of writing, instead of from inner compulsion" (p. 6) contains dangerous implications.

Professor Kaufmann's use of *sz* for *B* when writing German words in Latin script is disturbing. Documentation is incomplete and not uniform. The following misprints were noticed: *expresison* (p. 3), *civilizaton* (p. 25), *fredeom* (p. 37), *implicity* (p. 41), *Fusze for Füße* (p. 86), *Entschulsz* (p. 87), *betwen* (p. 137), *fraid* (p. 163), *naivety* (p. 166).

A. M. SAUERLANDER

The University of Buffalo

<sup>1</sup> F. W. Kaufmann: "The Value of Heidegger's Analysis of Existence for Literary Criticism." *Modern Language Notes*, XLVIII (December, 1933), pp. 487-491.

*Expressionism in German Life, Literature and the Theatre.* Studies by RICHARD SAMUEL and R. HINTON THOMAS. Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, Ltd., 1939. Frontispiece, pp. viii + 203. 10s., 6d.

The six Studies comprising this volume are devoted to the latest really full-blown movement in German literature: Expressionism, 1910 to 1924. The earlier year was marked by the founding of *Die Aktion* and *Der Sturm*. By the later date, adherents of the movement had either given up hope or had turned to some other "ism." The final chapter shows how certain expressionist characteristics have reappeared in Third Reich literature.

The deepest impression produced by first reading has to do with the authors' objective standpoint. The book is written by scholars, evidently neither moved by partisan motives nor beclouded by sympathy for unfortunate exiles. Their presentation of Ernst Toller's work may be cited as an example of fair and balanced treatment (pp. 13 ff, 43 ff).

As the title indicates, the Studies are based on a broad conception of Expressionism and the phenomenon is approached from several angles: The revamping of the drama and the theater, relationship to Antiquity, social background, reaction to the War, the search for God, and the effect on style and language. The appendix presents striking versions of the Train-Motif from Liliencron (for contrast), Stadler, Wolfenstein, Schaeffer, and Sack. The frontispiece reproduces Barlach's "Ecstasy."

The authors enjoyed the assistance of Reinhard Sorge's widow in preparing the chapter on him—Expressionism's chief cornerstone—and on his "plotless" drama, *Der Bettler*. In contrast to the futile criticism of the drama of Naturalism and the mirrored beauty of Neo-Romanticism, "the typical Expressionist drama ends with the discovery of positive values in life even if the hero succumbs" (p. 39). This readiness for death is carried to a climax in Kaiser's *Bürger von Calais*, in which Eustache commits "suicide in order to save the others from the plight of choosing to renounce the privilege of dying" (p. 43). The present authors treat Activism as part of Expressionism.

Nietzschean in some respects (pp. 32, 73), Expressionism was a "revolt against authority" (p. 111) and a "reaction against the extreme individualism of the preceding age" (p. 115). Hiller is quoted: "Mankind can only be saved at the cost of sacrificing the individual" (pp. 79 ff). In the light of later developments, it is interesting to note that Johst—frequently associated with Toller, Kornfeld (p. 59) and Unruh (p. 68)—"in 1924 was repelled by the lack of self-discipline in Expressionism" (p. 86). Johst was admitted to the *Deutsche Akademie der Dichtung* in 1933. Gottfried Benn was the only (one-time) Expressionist able to retain his membership in that body after the shake-up of that year.

Mr. Thomas endeavors to justify a probable over-emphasis on Kafka (pp. 143f). Werfel is not underestimated. Brecht (though at his "best" later on) could well have been mentioned in connection with the citations from Curt Corrinth (p. 150). The references are carefully documented, except for a few irritating instances, such as a "critic has aptly remarked" (p. 132), and a "contemporary reviewer found" (p. 133). One awkward statement should be pilloried: "... and Jeremiah in ... the Old Testament story of the war leading to the fall of Jerusalem against Babylon" (p. 127).

The bibliography is adequate in its selection and is well arranged, showing dates of the anthologies and periodicals. The very satisfactory index gives dates of authors as well as dates of the works discussed. Messrs. Samuel and Thomas have done an admirable piece of work.

EDMUND E. MILLER

*University of Maryland*

*Lewis and Clark: Linguistic Pioneers.* By E. H. CRISWELL. Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Studies, vol. XV, no. 2, 1940. Pp. ccxii + 102. \$1.25.

The body of this book is made up of a "Lewis and Clark Lexicon." More precisely, we have here a list of 1859 words, taken from the journals kept by various members of the Lewis and Clark expedition of 1804-1806. The words were selected for their linguistic interest: Americanisms, survivals (marked obsolete in the *NED*), archaisms, terms not elsewhere recorded, and the like. With each word is given its classification (i.e., the particular category of linguistic interest which it exemplifies), followed by one or more relevant quotations from the journals, together with a lexical discussion and definition(s). As the author puts it, "by consulting this alphabetical list the reader may find all the information it has been possible to assemble upon each of the chosen words, combinations or meanings employed in the Lewis and Clark Journals." The introduction, more than twice as long as the lexicon proper, falls into two main divisions: 1. Things: the new world of the explorers; and 2. Words: fitting the language to the new world. Under *things* we find the story of the expedition, some account of the explorers, their organization and equipment, geographical information about the regions explored, and information about the Indian tribes of those regions at the beginning of the last century, together with a brief treatment of the fauna and flora. The last item is supplemented, most usefully, by a zoological and a botanical index. Under *words* we are given two sub-heads: (1) processes of word crea-

tion, as adoptions, adaptations, and inventions, and (2) classification of the vocabulary. Here as elsewhere the discussion is full and the conclusions reached seem sound and trustworthy. On page ccx the author gives a list of 37 problem words, and asks for suggestions about their interpretation. The *fitten* of this list seems to be a ghost-word; in the quotation where it is supposed to occur we find *fitting* "suitable," a form which, so far as I can see, makes no difficulties. Most of the other problem words are explained, plausibly enough, by the author, or by others whom he cites. Mr. Criswell is to be congratulated on this book; it is a careful, competent piece of work.

KEMP MALONE

*Johns Hopkins University*

*Beowulf: the Oldest English Epic.* Translated into Alliterative Verse by CHARLES W. KENNEDY, Murray Professor of English Literature in Princeton University. New York: Oxford University Press, 1940. Pp. lxxv+121. \$2.50.

Professor Kennedy is a skillful and indefatigable translator of Old English verse. A generation ago when the reviewer was struggling with the Cynewulfian poems he found a blessed stay in Mr. Kennedy's prose translations, which had then recently appeared (1910). Some years later came prose renderings of the Cædmonian poems (1916), equally spirited and useful, and after twenty years, his graceful translations of the elegies in the Exeter Book (1936). This little volume contained also a translation of the elegiac passage near the end of the *Beowulf* (lines 2231-2270). And now Professor Kennedy has undertaken a rendering of the whole of the majestic poem.

I use the term "majestic" advisedly; repeated reading has long since brought home to me what a glorious thing it is, and I have reason to think that many generations of students with whom I have read it have come to think of it as I do. Let us grant that the plot is thin and the structure not too well knit—there are few long poems in English more splendidly wrought.

There is unity of theme—the glory of heroic and unselfish adventure against evil in high places, in the literal biblical sense; a rich, many-colored background finely woven, and a magnificence of language which leaves critic and translator helpless. Indeed, if the poem has a weakness as a work of art it lies in this all-pervasive artistry. *Beowulf* seldom pierces one with a stab of eloquence straight from a heart on fire—as lesser poems do, even *Maldon*: it carries one along on a great golden stream of poetic rhetoric. It is, I do not hesitate to say, the rhetoric of Milton and Virgil, though I

am, of course, not blind to the differences. It is a great literary tradition at its finest flowering—a tradition which had at its command an infinity of resources—*kennings*, which still had their roots in reality, a rich interlacing of connotative repetitions, and a poetic vocabulary more jewelled—what if it be *bejewelled*—than anything in English for many centuries. *Beowulf* may not be one of the half-dozen great poems of the world—I confess I do not know—but for sheer *style*, there are not many works to be put above it.

To turn so sophisticated a poem, exploiting to their uttermost all the devices of an old and practiced literary convention, into modern English is an enormously exacting task, and few who have ventured upon it have come out well. Even Gummere and Leonard seem a little unreal. Where so many have failed, or only imperfectly succeeded, it is not surprising that Mr. Kennedy falls short. The whole genius of Modern English is against him. But he has given a fluent, often eloquent rendering, which will do something to convey to the reader not the story merely, but the style and accent. He has, rightly, refused to imitate strictly the original metre, but uses rather a loose four-stress measure with irregular alliteration and without rhyme. The inserted lays he has cleverly put into longer alliterative lines to differentiate this material from the body of the narrative. If one does not know the poem in the original one will be, I think, satisfied, and get a sense, too, of what that original is like; if one does know it, one will be happy that Mr. Kennedy has come so close.

To the translation is prefixed a valuable introduction of over fifty pages in which the amateur—I use the word in both its senses—will find simply and clearly set forth all he needs to know about the poem. There is, of course, nothing new here; but Mr. Kennedy's scholarship is abreast of the times, and even the experienced teacher will find the introduction useful. The selective bibliography (pp. 105-111) is rather for the layman. I have only one small complaint. Mr. Kennedy gives us (pp. 115-121) a highly desirable glossary of proper names. But there are no genealogical trees of the Scandinavian dynasties, which, it seems to me, are even more necessary to the general reader.

Finally, one is glad to compliment the publishers on a most attractive little book. One hopes it may travel far in these benighted times to bear tidings of an age when men, if not better or more peaceful than they are today, seem to have known something of values, and literary values not least.

MARTIN B. RUUD

*University of Minnesota*

*Chaucer's "Troilus": A Study in Courtly Love.* By THOMAS A. KIRBY. Louisiana State University Press, 1940. Pp. ix+337. \$3.00.

Professor Kirby states that it is his purpose "to make a study of the courtly love tradition and of Chaucer's *Troilus* in the light of that tradition, especially to investigate its relation to the *Filostrato* of Boccaccio and to determine the nature and the effect of the changes which the English poet saw fit to make." The fulfillment of this promise has produced a very valuable book both as a reference aid and as an introduction to the many difficult problems of courtly love.

It may fairly be asserted that courtly love progressed from a rather earthly point of view into idealizations that differed with different writers and different societies. To many of these, courtly love was a purification of personal attitudes, the creation of a nobler character, and a practice which had no conflict with religion or established society. It permeated society and played its part in establishing the code of modern courtesy. Modern scholars have a tendency to interpret a medieval "One Night of Love" as an actual historic experience of the author, but there is still the problem whether later courtly love is not a literary motif only creatively presented in various situations to show Love's joy, its power, and its spiritual essence. Creatively, the theme is associated with tragedy as it is in Chaucer's poem.

Professor Kirby's book offers abundant material for the study of these and related problems. His translations of foreign languages and of Chaucer are correct and skillfully phrased. He outlines the influence of Ovid, The Troubadours, Chrétien de Troyes, Andreas Capellanus, Italy and *Il dolce stil nuovo* before discussing *Il Filostrato*. He lays a solid foundation for the study of Chaucer's use of courtly love in the characterization of Pandarus, Criseyde, Diomedes, and Troilus. In his discussions, he presents fully the opinions of modern scholars and shows conclusively that Chaucer, using Boccaccio's story, altered and increased the courtly love elements and made them more humanly sensitive.

When this argument is presented, Professor Kirby's work is done. Chaucer's full and sensitive presentation of courtly love does not prove, however, that *Troilus and Criseyde* is sympathetic to all the courtly love system. The poem is still the tragedy of Troilus. The beauty of courtly love presides over the joy and the refinement of two lovers. A physical love destroyed that beauty. In the solution of Troilus' tragedy, the Boethian parts of the poem are also to be considered.

D. D. GRIFFITH

*University of Washington*

*Annals of English Drama, 975-1700.* By ALFRED HARBAGE. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, published in cooperation with The Modern Language Association of America, 1940. Pp. viii + 264. \$3.00.

With the passing years the tools of English scholarship increase to such an extent that one is inclined to ask in amazement how, without them, the monuments of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century scholarship were produced. *Annals of English Drama, 975-1700* is a tool that will be given frequent use. In convenient tabular form this volume attempts to record every English playwright up to the year 1700, each dramatic composition with its actual or probable date, the *genre*, the auspices of production, and the dates of the earliest and most recent editions. Thus Ben Jonson is credited with having written *Every Man in his Humour* in 1598, a comedy acted by the Lord Chamberlain's Men, which was first printed in 1601 and most recently edited in 1928. By use of appropriate symbols, Professor Harbage also informs us that a facsimile exists and that this play is included in Bang's *Materialien*, and in the Mermaid Series. Such a compilation involves the use of countless details, and if occasional inaccuracies come to light, it is well to realize that they are inevitable and that they will be cheerfully and meticulously corrected if called to the attention of the author.

The chronological arrangement of titles enables the reader almost at a glance to ascertain what plays and what kinds of entertainment were being produced in any given period. Supplementary lists give the titles of (1) extant, and (2) non-extant plays which were omitted from the principal tabulation because of uncertain identity and date. In addition there are indexes of authors, of play titles, of foreign playwrights, of foreign plays translated or adapted, of dramatic companies, and of theatres. Last in the volume is the most comprehensive finding list in existence of "Extant play manuscripts, 975-1700."

Professor Harbage modestly disavows all claims to completeness. He will be content if users of the book will cooperate to the extent of supplying him with additions and corrections. In an effort to comply with his request, I give below certain information that for one reason or another failed to come to his attention. Some, at least, of the items have appeared in the market since the publication of his book; others have only recently been identified; and yet others have reposed in my notes for a number of years.

Thus there are three previously unrecorded MSS described in Dr. Rosenbach's recent catalog, *English Plays to 1700*: (1) William Cartwright's *The Royall Slave*, 1636; (2) Thomas Middleton's *A Game at Chesse*, with holograph title-page; and (3) another MS of *A Game att Chesse*, dated 13 August 1624. In Thomas Thorp's catalog 212, item 762 is listed *A comedy, wherein is de-*



pictured and determined by the *Inter loquertor*, the *Masse* of controversies wch att this day are frequent amongst the Roman catholiques, Lutherans, Calvinists, Anabaptists, Swenfeldians, and others, in matters of Religion, written in Italian in prose and translated into English, 1633, MS, present whereabouts unknown. In the auction at Sotheby's on 13 December 1938, item 482 was *Don Pedro, the Cruel King of Castille*, described as a manuscript of the early seventeenth century. Joseph Hunter mentions a manuscript play called *The University Pedlar*, formerly in the possession of Richard West and later of the Reverend Mr. Collins of Knaresborough—see *Chorus Vatum*, sub nom. West. B. H. Newdigate (*Tablet*, 19 Nov. 1938, page 680 and note) mentions a manuscript play *Morus*, with two or three others in a hand of (perhaps) the early seventeenth century, in Christopher Greene's *Collectanea* at the English College at Rome. He suggests that possibly Anthony Munday is connected with this play, since he was at the English College ca. 1578-81, and later participated in writing the much more famous *Sir Thomas More* in which Shakespeare may have had a hand. The Reverend Montague Summers names a manuscript play, *Amalasont, Queen of the Goths*, by John Hughes, which was formerly in the possession of the Reverend John Duncombe. Professor Mark Eccles has pointed out (*RES*, XI, 90) that a lost play of *St. Erasmus* was acted at Aberdeen in 1518. And of considerable importance is the MS fragment of *Titus Andronicus* with illustration in the possession of the Marquis of Bath, at Longleat (see E. K. Chambers, *The Library*, 4 ser., V, 326-30, and J. Q. Adams, *Titus Andronicus*, 1594, the Folger reprint).

A recent accession to the Folger collection should be listed: Robert Wild's *The Benefice*, MS (number unassigned). Other Folger MSS not recorded by Professor Harbage because not available or catalogued are:

Francis Bacon: *Gesta Grayorum*, fragment. MS 724.1.

*Essex Entertainment, Love and Self-love*. MS 2236.

Boyle, Roger, Earl of Orrery: *Henry the Fifth*. MS 1110.2.

*Mustapha*. MS 1110.2.

Cartwright, William: *The Royall Slaue*. MS (number unassigned).

One of the MSS mentioned above in Rosenbach's catalogue).

Dryden, John: *Spanish Fryar*, player's part of Gomez. MS (number unassigned).

Killigrew, Thomas: *I Cicilia & Clarinda or Love in Armes*. MS 4458.

*II Cicilia & Clarinda or Love in Armes*. MS 4458.

Lyly, John: *Harefield Entertainment*, 1602 (see Bond, Lyly, I, 491 ff.). MS 297.3.

Marlowe, Christopher: *Massacre at Paris*, fragment. MS 448.17.  
(See reprint with facsimile by Dr. J. Q. Adams in *Library*, n.s., XIV, 447-69.)

Middleton, Thomas: *Game at Chesse*. (One of the two MSS mentioned above. It is in the hand of Ralph Crane, scrivener of the King's Men, with prompt notes added by Crane at a later date, and some corrections in Middleton's own hand. The MS, dated 13 August 1624, contains an early version of the play in which the Fat Bishop does not appear.)

Montague, Walter: *The Shepherd's Paradise*. MS 4461.

*The Shepherd's Paradise*. MS 4462.

Parkinson, ———: *Speech to King James I at Berwick, 6 April 1603* (see *Progresses of James I*, I, 64-5). MS 297.3.

Wilmot, Robert: *Gismond of Salerne*, fragments. MS 1232.3.  
(Printed in *Censura Literaria*, VII, 350 ff.)

Anonymous:

*Band, Cuff, and Ruff*. MS 2203.2.

*Boot & Spur*. MS 2203.1.

*Gowne, Hood, Capp*. MS 2203.2.

*Preist the Barbar. Sweet Ball his man*. MS 2203.2.

Another Folger MS, an unpublished fragment of the accounts of the Revels Office, provides two additional details. The season of 1630 at the Cockpit included *An Induction for the House*, otherwise unknown; and John Ford's *Beauty in a Trance* was performed there in 1630, thus limiting the dates of composition given by Harbage under the year 1638. Perhaps it would be well to note that William Raymes's *Selfe Interest* is Folger MS 1008.1, not 2203.1; and that Ben Jonson's entertainment of 1617 is entitled "Mock-maske. The Christmas shewe before the Kinge. . . Christmas his Showe" (Folger MS 2203.1).

In view of the fact that no other document of the sort has survived, it may not be amiss to single out for comment Folger MS 1137.5, which Harbage lists at the bottom of his second column, page 159. This is an author's plot of a play in which one of the principal characters is *Philander King of Thrace*. It has never been printed, but Dr. J. Q. Adams gave a description of it in *JEGP* in his review of Greg's *Elizabethan Dramatic Documents*.

Possibly through my own obtuseness I find no record of the anonymous *Masque* in MS Egerton 1994, written between 1641 and 1643, which is said to be derived in part from Chapman (see *RES*, XI, 186-91).

In the brief time since *Annals of English Drama* came from press it has been repeatedly used by the Folger staff, and it is my belief that other libraries and all serious students of the drama will find the volume indispensable.

JAMES G. McMANAWAY

*The Folger Shakespeare Library*

*The State in Shakespeare's Greek and Roman Plays.* By JAMES EMERSON PHILLIPS, Jr. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940. Pp. 230. \$2.75.

Mr. Phillips begins his statement of the problem with three familiar and extended passages from Shakespeare,<sup>1</sup> all of which emphasize the Elizabethan political concept of society as a graded and functional hierarchy of classes and vocations. After summarizing specimen interpretations of Shakespeare's political themes the author justly remarks that such investigations "fail for the most part adequately to reveal the dramatic functions of these ideas." Before attempting to supply this missing interpretation, however, Mr. Phillips provides an extended body of sixteenth century political theory, all of it relevant to Shakespeare's point of view. This background has been available in good part in such books as J. W. Allen's *A History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century*. The author recognizes this, but wisely feels it important to analyze and coordinate so much of Tudor political thinking as applies cogently to the expression of politics in Shakespeare's plays.

Political doctrines are bound to be postulated upon notions of the origin and purpose of civil society. Acting upon this principle, Mr. Phillips documents in his third chapter the pervasive Tudor attitude that the will of God as expressed in natural law moves men forward from historically primitive chaos to rationalized social living. The author observes (p. 50) that the emphasis placed upon the sanctity of hierarchy "can be appreciated by the modern reader only when he recalls the very real horror with which Renaissance writers regarded the pre-social state of disorder and bestiality."

Shakespeare's three expansive assertions of state policy, previously mentioned as quoted by Mr. Phillips in his opening chapter, all contain the analogical argument. The *Coriolanus* passage, for example, is the well known fable of the belly and the members from which Menenius asks the plebeians to deduce that they, who are like the body's members, must subordinate themselves to the senate which, like the belly, fulfills functions of sustenance and maintenance. Accordingly, in Chapter IV examples are given of sixteenth century reasoning which show that by Shakespeare's day argument by analogy had become a device uniformly used to present the state-concept. Further, such arguments were more than figurative, more than rhetorical and decorative. They were intended as literal comparisons deriving their validity from the characteristic principle that all departments of the universe had been created on the same pattern.

Chapters V and VI consist of interesting documentations of the principle of degree so standard during the period and so definitively put by Ulysses in *Troilus and Cressida*. Theorists of the time are

<sup>1</sup> *Henry V*, I, ii, 183-213; *Troilus and Cressida* I, iii, 75-137; *Coriolanus* I, i, 99-158.

called upon to supplement Shakespeare's idealistic and rigid conception of a society stratified from the lowest vocation to that which was temporally supreme, the "specialty of rule."

The first six chapters of Mr. Phillips' book show the extent and nature of the political theory, popular and scholarly, which was in agreement with the Shakespearean point of view. The remaining chapters are given to discussion of the dramatic function of these ideas in the Greek and Roman plays. In the author's words (pp. 112-3):

Thus in the camp action in *Troilus and Cressida* and in *Timon of Athens* the political atmosphere of the drama is that of a society corrupted in purpose and function because vocation has been neglected in the upper degrees of the hierarchical structure. In *Coriolanus* the violation of degree by both ruler and ruled in the Roman commonwealth brings the state to the verge of disaster. In *Julius Caesar* and *Antony and Cleopatra* a political society which forsakes monarchic government returns painfully but inevitably to that form of rule ordained by the laws of nature. In no case can this political theme be considered the primary source of dramatic interest; but in every case it must be regarded as an integral part of the structure and movement of the play and accordingly essential to a complete understanding of Shakespeare's thought and purpose.

The present review is no place to duplicate the extent of illustration which Mr. Phillips provides in his analyses which follow the prospectus just quoted. It is sufficient to say that one who reads *Troilus and Cressida* or *Coriolanus* with any sense at all of such devices of dramatic propaganda as reiteration and speech-making will agree with Mr. Phillips that social concepts are at the rock bottom of both plays and must enter into any interpretation of them, whether the interpretation be esthetic, historical, or philosophical. It is a fashionable error to say that modern literature is more given over to the "social" than is literature of former times. Equipped with the background Mr. Phillips provides, it is difficult for one to see how any modern play could be more surcharged with topical "social significance" than are *Coriolanus* and *Troilus and Cressida*. Mr. Phillips, however, could be accused of driving his thesis in the discussion of *Antony and Cleopatra* and *Julius Caesar*. He summarizes it thus (pp. 204-5):

At the opening of *Julius Caesar* Rome is enjoying the civil health of a naturally organized body politic. The civil strife and social chaos portrayed in the second half of the play, and the brutal tyranny established in the place of the monarchy, are portrayed as direct consequences of the violation of normal political order which the assassination of Caesar constitutes. These circumstances completely discredit the concept of aristocratic sovereignty which comprises the political philosophy of the conspirators. The futility and error of their honest intentions is further demonstrated by the inevitable restoration of monarchy, suggested in the last acts of *Julius Caesar* and concluded in the political action in *Antony and Cleopatra*. Out of the welter of divided and conflicting authorities emerges the one man who, according to the political standards of the Renaissance, is qualified to be the natural head of the Roman body politic. With nothing to indicate that the promise of civil peace and order will not be fulfilled, the political action of *Antony and Cleopatra*, unlike that of the earlier play, can end conclusively and happily, for the normal state-structure has been re-established.

An argument that the collapse of the triumvirate in these plays is clearly to be understood as a portrayal of the inherent weakness of aristocracy as opposed to monarchy is much more of a rationalization than a reading of *Coriolanus* and *Troilus* as Tudor tragedies of a society grown dislocated and sick. Indeed it is here also that Mr. Phillips becomes humorless when he declares of Caesar's ghost (p. 188),

This spirit which is "Thy evil spirit, Brutus," and which "walks abroad, and turns our swords In our own proper entrails" is the concept of unitary sovereignty.

There is a difference between giving ear to the clear emphasis and *obiter dicta* of a play (Mr. Phillips' usual practice) and reading in implications which may square with contemporary political theory but which simply may or may not have been viewed in that connection by the audience. Such a criticism might be mitigated, however, by the possible intention of the author that his interpretation of this point be accepted as simply plausible and worth considering.

More fundamental objections to Mr. Phillips' very useful book may be offered; these, however, are of the sort that concern not validity of method but, rather, validity of scope. The first: why confine the study to Shakespeare's Greek and Roman plays? This arbitrary division will not inconvenience an interested student who knows that the doctrines of political stability are the same in the cycle of plays based upon the chronicles as they are in those based upon Plutarch. But it does seem an odd limitation, very much like the artificial scope of a book upon such a subject as *Ethical Precepts in Shakespeare after 1598*.

The second objection is directed at a persistent attitude implied or expressed not only by Mr. Phillips, but by almost all who have seen Shakespeare in the light of Tudor political theory. As Mr. Phillips puts it, the object of his study is not only a description of current political theory and the popular interest evoked by it, but, more than that, a survey of "the circumstances which made the subject particularly appropriate for dramatic treatment." (P. 18.) As far as I can gather, the author feels that the extensiveness and the platitudinous nature of a great part of sixteenth century conservative thought are the circumstances making for its vitality in the drama. A more useful explanation of the appropriateness of Shakespeare's political theme might be social unrest, a physical thing of which there was plenty and without which the political theory contained in the drama would have failed to carry impact. It is perhaps unfair to object that Mr. Phillips fails to give an outline of Elizabethan and early Jacobean social stress, a thing he had no intention of doing; it is nevertheless pertinent to add that when the popular literature of any age reiterates the necessity of social stability, a fully integrated study of it might look for the simmering cauldron under the vapors of political theory.

Mr. Phillips, however, has been successful in what he endeavored to do: to collect the contemporary theorists who wrote relevantly to Shakespeare's political themes and to show how the very structure and atmosphere of certain of the plays depends upon an understanding of the state as judged by contemporary standards. Even those who are at home with the point of view Mr. Phillips presents will find interesting new evidence and modes of interpretation.

BRENTS STIRLING

*University of Washington*

*Modern Poetry and the Tradition.* By CLEANTH BROOKS. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1939. Pp. xi + 253.

It is impossible to read this book without trying to answer it, not only because Mr. Brooks clearly, straightforwardly, without smugness and without malice, cuts away much of the ground we stand on—indeed he means to offer us what may be better standing ground—but still more because his book moves us to the necessity of determining our own position on matters which we cannot live our daily intellectual life without confronting: the modern dichotomy between "thought" and "feeling," the writer caught between Propaganda and the Ivory Tower, the responsibility of science for the death of the imagination (its executioner Hobbes, its crematory urn Victorian poetry, from whence no resurrection, no ghosts).

A likeness posited between modern and metaphysical poets lies at the heart of the book. This likeness includes a similar conception of metaphor as functional rather than decorative; it includes a similar conception of the function of poetry as an attempt to resolve violent discords, to refuse to ignore dissonant elements in experience, to "unify sensibility" by ironic comment upon those elements; it includes hence a method of indirection and an ideal of "inclusion" rather than exclusion. Others besides myself may not accept this; certain admirably conducted expositions may help their unbelief—or suspend it. Particularly clarifying are a chapter (2) on the use of wit to intensify seriousness, and another on *The Modern Poet and the Tradition* (5), bringing out these characteristics and aims through suggestive and clear-seeing analyses of poems by Carew, Keats, Ransom, Tate, Warren and others.

The argument seems to me somewhat interrupted by two defenses. (Though it is true that they interrupt only if one does not quite believe them.) *Metaphysical Poetry and Propaganda Art* (3) denies the dilemma between propagandist art and the Ivory Tower, and criticizes art-as-propaganda chiefly on the ground that this is the revival of "the didactic heresy," by those who do not realize that



to make the goodness of a poem dependent on its truth is to bring it, falsely, into a competition with science. If poetry should seem to us to lose seriousness by thus not being allowed to consist of "more or less true statements," Brooks re-instates it among man's serious concerns by seeing it as "the organization of experience," I. A. Richards' poetry of synthesis. Perhaps what is needed here is a more constant care (by reader as well) to understand the interrelationships between truth of fact, truth of symbol, logical truth, metaphysical reality; a more perceptive definition of the nature of "scientific truth." Symbolist Poetry and the Ivory Tower (4) makes an attempt to rescue the Symbolists from the charge of escapism on the ground of the above "inclusiveness," the scope and breadth of the experience which their poetry assimilates. This is not to me successful because it depends on a theory of the ultimate identity of symbolist and metaphysical poetry, which in turn depends on the adducing of similarities in qualities or instruments (irony, realistic diction, wit), and assuming therefrom an identity of purpose.

Frost, MacLeish and Auden (6) are also analyzed in relation to the above aims; Auden particularly for his assimilation of discords into a pattern, but, as would be expected, that poetry of his is praised which does not assimilate them to the degree of "oversimplification"—which would make of him that sad spectacle, inadmissible to Mr. Brooks' doctrine, the poet working in the service of a cause. MacLeish is praised with a certain apprehensiveness that he might similarly be found presently to be writing poetry in which the pattern arrived at could no longer be admitted as being on the safe side of the didactic heresy. The pattern called "a dramatic unity" seems to be the last safe stop prior to that heretical oversimplification. It is interesting that poetry of MacLeish's said to be brilliant exemplification of the theory of his (early) *Ars Poetica* is analyzed to show his lack of dramatic quality; one remembers from *Ars Poetica* "a poem should not mean But be." Comparing Mr. Brooks' earlier praise of Richards' dictum "it is never what a poem says that matters, but what it is," and the implication there that out of this very theory will proceed the dramatic unity which is one of poetry's chief values, one is troubled by the inconsistency, and feels that Mr. Brooks' appraisal of the results of this poetic theory is more just when he criticises the early MacLeish than when he accepts Richards.

The analyses of *The Waste Land* and of Yeats' "myth-making" poems will be found, like the other analyses of single poems in the book, stimulating, helpful, fruitful in their relating together of various sides of a man's work, delicate, thoughtful, and daring—Mr. Brooks' willingness to come out with what he thinks a poem means is a kind of audacity he shares with few. The generalizations which are thrown off as those analyses are pursued have a similar reckless freshness; hence they explode upon us more to our alarm than our conviction. Among such generalizations, for example, are the as-



sumption that by the recognition of contradictions one has achieved "synthesis"; the assumption that we need ask of a poet's system of thought not the naive question of whether it has any truth in it but rather whether it could unify his sensibility; the castigation of allegory, of the Victorians, of all expository statement in poetry; the fastening upon "science" of the responsibility for the divorce between intellect and emotion, as well as for the death of tragedy, for the willingness to accept over-simple answers, and for many other forms of sentimental optimism.

With the last chapter (Notes for a Revised History of English Poetry), again the same sense of gratefulness for bold attack on timeworn falsifications arises in those of us who yearly writhe under the lies we tell the undergraduates. But also again the sense that it were safer, as we re-furnish in our modern taste, to preserve what we do not like in some safety deposit box—the rules for determining bric-a-brac are so hard to come at, and the incinerator so potent an engine for carrying out our own peculiar oversimplifications. Certain modes of thinking which come out clearly in this last chapter underlie other portions of the argument, and though they may not vitiate it they leave a reader with discords unresolved and sensibilities un-unified. One is the tendency to condemn upon a principle which is the very one being used. To exemplify: if we condemn theorists to whom "the poetry resides in the poetic quality of the materials themselves" (chap. 1), we may not refuse to admit because unpoetic the Victorian and Romantic subject matters—the obviously pleasing, the "agreeable high-sounding proposition." It works both ways. If we deny intrinsic poetic qualities to any class of objects—then it must be to Donne's compasses as well as to Wordsworth's Nun; we may not give high marks for the use of such objects as shock by surprising contrasts in associations; the arresting are no more inherently poetic than the delightful. One must add here, however, that Mr. Brooks is more careful than many to note the arresting combination rather than the mere introduction of indecorous objects. If we accept the very tenable definition of form on page 231, we may not score poets for *which* "total intention" they picked, unless we realize that we are doing so on the same ground that we criticize in *their* theory of poetry—the truth or falsity of their vision—and that we are ourselves hence in grievous danger of being up before the Inquisition for the didactic heresy.

The most dangerous of these modes of thinking may be inescapable: the tendency to falsify other ages by seeing in them the image of our own. Here it would seem pertinent in view of the last fifteen years of criticism of the metaphysical poets to protest against the *assumption* of the truth of certain dicta which it is popular to use when speaking of that group: That their terms, their images, are homely and "discordant." That, when they are so, they are so for the same reasons as ours often are—in rebellion. That they did not accept didactic statement as an end (even, properly

interpreted, as the end) of poetry. That their dialectic was subservient to the needs of a separable something which we call "imagination" and not to the ends of a truth intellectually apprehendable and stateable as a concept. That sincerity for them chiefly resided as for us in an unwillingness to ignore the complexity of experience. That they were interested as we are in the description of the movements of their own consciousness, to the extent of the inclusion of logical irrelevancies.

Before we dare make such assumptions we must make sure that the seventeenth-century poets saw as "discordant" or "unpoetic" what we see in them as such. We must make sure that they really did deny the Renaissance conception of poetry as an instrument to establish or at least to state values. We must try to see whether they really did write to "organize an experience," incorporating in that unity both the typewriter and Spinoza, or whether as with most great poets ancient and modern the principle of decorum (which we deny in them) constrained them to select Spinoza, typewriters, nuns, Phoebus, compasses or Cupid according as these were *logically* pertinent to the statement they were making. We must make sure that what seem opposites needing reconciliation, to us, seemed so to them, that they felt the dichotomy which we suffer from between intellect and emotion, or saw science and poetry as opposites, as some have come to see them—by the same vicious dichotomy.

It may be that the tangle in which we find ourselves, and which we wish to push back onto them, results rather from our own unwillingness to accept the responsibilities of a concept which they would never have questioned—the *use* of poetry to make *statements* which they believed *true* (however small the truth), *to a reader* whom they tried to convince of this truth by such means as they thought effective *to that end*.

If the reader thinks this an untenable theory of poetry, he will enjoy in Mr. Brooks' book one of the most brilliant of recent confutations of it.

ROSEMOND TUVE

*Connecticut College*

*Incunabula in the Hanes Collection of the Library of the University of North Carolina.* Compiled by OLAN V. COOK. Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1940. Pp. 125.

There has recently been an awakened interest in fifteenth century printing in the libraries of the United States. In July, 1939, an article by Fremont Rider, librarian of Wesleyan University, appeared in the *Library Quarterly*, entitled "Holdings of Incunabula in American University Libraries." In this article Mr. Rider brings out the fact that there is a considerable increase in the incunabula

in libraries of the United States and that of the fifty-seven libraries of the world having the largest collections of incunabula, only five are outside Europe, and these are all in the United States.

This interest has been increased by two important works which have appeared in 1940, the Pierpont Morgan Library Checklist of Fifteenth Century Printing in that collection, and Margaret Stillwell's second census of Incunabula in American Libraries, prepared for the Bibliographical Society of America.

Because of this recent emphasis on fifteenth century printing in American libraries, the little volume *Incunabula in the Hanes Collection of the Library of the University of North Carolina*, compiled by Olan V. Cook, is of timely interest. The Hanes Foundation for the Study of the Origin and Development of the Book was made in 1939, and under this foundation over five hundred items of incunabula have been brought together, from which the development of early printing can be traced in Germany, Rome, Venice, and from Italy to Switzerland, France, the Netherlands and to England.

The arrangement of this checklist is chronological under country, town, and printer, and the numbers are included from the Proctor work on the Incunabula in the British Museum and the Bodleian Library. A complete author and title index is provided and there is also an index to printers and places. So-called "Concordances" are included for the numbers of Hain, Copinger, Reichling and the Gesamtkatalog.

The book is listed as Number 1 of the Hanes Foundation Publications. It is printed on good paper in a numbered edition of five hundred copies. It forms an attractive addition to our record of fifteenth century printing in the United States.

JOHN S. RICHARDS

*University of Washington*

*The Living Chaucer.* By PERCY VAN DYKE SHELLY. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940. Pp. vi + 331. \$3.00.

*The Living Chaucer* is a substantial volume devoted exclusively to Chaucer the artist and intended primarily for the benefit of the general reader; the author's particular purpose is (p. vi) "to stress the fact that Chaucer's poetry is of value and interest not alone as an historical phenomenon, of significance chiefly to the student of literary history, but as a joy and inspiration to the general reader of this twentieth century. . . ." The various chapters are devoted to such topics as Chaucer and the Critics; the Development of Chaucer's Art; Chaucer's Borrowings; *Troilus and Criseyde*; the *Legend of Good Women*; Chaucer, the Classics, and the Renaissance; the *Canterbury Tales*.

The first chapter, entitled "On not Reading Chaucer," is a plea for reading Chaucer in the original, a plea which cannot be made too

frequently or too forcefully in this age which is so content, when inclined at all, to make its acquaintance with the literature of the earlier periods by means of translations or paraphrases or summaries or commentaries—anything but the original. Mr. Shelly makes out a good case for his attitude by citing the opinions of various men of letters, the obvious moral of which is that the great literary figures who admired Chaucer's work did so because they read him in the original and those who did not admire him failed to do so because they could not fully understand him. The rest of this chapter is a lengthy digression devoted to expounding the thesis that (p. 10) "to neglect Chaucer is to neglect the poet who, historically is the most important of all English poets, and the poet who, from the absolute point of view, must be placed, when all things are considered, second only to Shakespeare in the hierarchy of English poets." I do not propose to debate such a controversial statement but I must protest the author's tendency to enhance Chaucer's stature by belittling the achievements of his contemporaries and predecessors, near and remote. This tendency is perhaps best shown in the strictures on *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (pp. 11-12): "The story as a whole, in spite of its varied merits and interests, has in it the tedium of the moral. In plot and character-portrayal it is governed by the moral purpose of the writer. He is not a free artist." We are then told (p. 13) that Chaucer was the first "to bring joy into English poetry," that he was

the first realist in English literature, the first humorist, the first master of character portrayal, the first master of dialogue, the first master of pathos, the first great narrative poet, the first novelist, the first master of the short story, the first great exponent of verse melody and technique. In these respects he was first in point of time in the history of English literature. And in most of them his success was such that he has never or seldom been excelled.

As if this were not enough, we are informed cathedratically: "English literature of the great tradition—whether in drama, novel, story, satire, or song—has followed the road he pointed out." There is much that is true in such statements but, at the same time, there is much that is definitely misleading. The general reader of even limited discrimination will probably not be fully convinced by such sweeping generalizations; the more serious student can only be annoyed.

The second chapter is devoted to Chaucer and the critics. It is hard to tell whether Mr. Shelly feels that the critics or the scholars or the poets are most to blame for the various erroneous views which have been expressed about Chaucer down through the years, but it is refreshing to be reminded of the attitudes of such writers as Chesterton, Noyes, Murry, Masfield, and Yates, along with those of Dryden, Hazlitt, Hunt, and Arnold. Those who still be-

lieve in Matthew Arnold's omniscience will probably be undisturbed by Mr. Shelly's demolition of Arnold's charge that Chaucer is lacking in high seriousness; the rest of us will be grateful for it.

Most of the remaining chapters are concerned exclusively with the individual poems. I shall confine myself to various miscellaneous observations. On page 46 the untenable statement is made that the *Book of the Duchess* proves that Chaucer knew much about narrative art, construction, design, proportion, restraint, and coherence before his acquaintance with Italian literature; if this be true, we may well wonder why it took our poet nearly twenty years to develop the narrative skill revealed in the *Canterbury Tales*. Mr. Shelly refuses to believe that the *House of Fame* is an occasional poem but this view seems to me to be contradicted by the general implications of the poem. "Chaucer was more than a poet of the court. He was a poet of love"—yes, but it will take more than this statement (p. 76) to make most of us believe that the tidings were of no consequence and that the "man of gret auctoritee" should not be conjecturally identified.

The chapter on Chaucer's borrowings (pp. 94-109) begins by approving the desirability of studying Chaucer's indebtedness to the works of other writers, then proceeds to condemn such study because it puts the emphasis in the wrong place and tends to give the general reader a false, inadequate impression of the poet's greatness, and concludes by telling us that a work of art is to be judged on a purely aesthetic basis, without any consideration of either sources or influences. The study of sources and influences should be properly subordinated, but I would prefer to form my opinion of the *Knight's Tale* or the *Miller's Tale* or the *Parson's Tale* on the basis of something more dependable than a purely aesthetic reaction. Incidentally, I wish Chaucerian critics would stop quoting Kittredge's description of the Troilus as "the first novel, in the modern sense, that ever was written . . ." (p. 107); much the same thought is expressed in the chapter on Troilus (p. 143). Karl Young's paper, "Chaucer's 'Troilus and Criseyde' as Romance" (*PMLA*, LIII, 38 ff.), is the proper corrective for this point of view; it is also an excellent illustration of the importance of studying sources and influences for a fuller appreciation of a work of art.

The greater part of the chapter devoted to *Troilus and Criseyde* is made up of quotation, paraphrase, and commentary on the characters of Criseyde, Troilus, and Pandarus. This is largely impressionistic criticism of a stimulating sort, especially if it induces the reader to go to the poem itself and attempt his own evaluations. Mr. Shelly is perhaps a little too zealous in his white-washing of Criseyde. This is seen particularly in his interpretation of the crucial words, "slydinge of corage," to be found in the famous

portrait of Criseyde in the fifth book; these words, we are told, mean that she was possessed of (p. 126)

a heart (*corage*) quick to move (*slydinge*) in sympathy. *Slydinge of corage* means nothing more than "sympathetic," "compassionate," and is thus an additional item of praise, instead of being, as so often interpreted, the one note of blame in a description that is otherwise wholly complimentary.

The explanation is ingenious but unfortunately without basis; semantics rests on a basis more secure than wishful thinking. The literal meaning of the phrase, "unstable of disposition, fickle of heart," cannot be explained away thus easily. In connection with this phrase it is of interest to note that in the *Squire's Tale* (V, 22) one of the qualities ascribed to Cambyuskan is that he was "Of his corage as any centre stable." This confirms the view that *slydinge* is to be regarded as the antonym of *stable*.

Two long chapters (89 pages) contain much spirited appreciation of the *Canterbury Tales* along with a good deal of dull paraphrase. In the commentary on the *General Prologue* should have been included at least brief discussions of the points of view held by Curry and Manly (the former being mentioned not at all; the latter only once, in a footnote), scholars whose studies of the *Prologue* have proved so illuminating, though one may be unwilling to accept their interpretations *in toto*. Like most writers, Mr. Shelly overemphasizes the satire in the sketch of the Prioress (p. 200). It is definitely misleading to speak of the *Wife of Bath's Prologue* as "a long dramatic monologue five hundred years before Browning" unless we are to give up all attempts at using critical terms precisely. Mr. Shelly very properly devotes a good deal of attention to the fabliaux, thereby doing much to atone for the pious hypocrisy of some of the older criticism. Much of the point of the satire in the *Reeve's Tale* is lost by the failure to point out that Symkyn re-echoes the Miller of the *General Prologue* in several respects; there is also no mention of the use of the Northern dialect in this tale and the subtle effects which Chaucer gains thereby. The criticism of the *Merchant's Tale* (pp. 255 ff.) is inadequate, not even hinting at the bitterly ironical discussion of marriage in the first part and the savage satire of Courtly Love which occupies much of the rest of the tale; see J. S. P. Tatlock, *MP*, XXXIII, 367-81, and M. Schlauch, *ELH*, IV, 201-12. The remarks on the *Prioress' Tale* (p. 266, top) are without justification. On this same page, with reference to the *Man of Law's Tale*, occurs the observation that not even Chaucer's "powers of managing a story were equal, it seems, to the task of simplifying the action and giving to its various parts the desirable emphasis and appeal." But Chaucer was not trying to write a tale unfolded with dramatic directness, and we must also remember that bulk was sometimes considered a considerable merit in a manuscript. In connection with the *Clerk's*

*Tale* we are told that it is essential (p. 274) "to bear in mind that the action of the story takes place in the Middle Ages." Why stress this? It is equally true of most of the *Canterbury Tales*.

If this book is intended for the general reader, as the author professes, its usefulness would have been greatly extended by giving the line numbers for the innumerable quotations from Chaucer's poetry. There is also much inconsistency in the citation of authorities; why, for example, on page 301 should there be a footnote for Hunt, none for Bagehot on 294, and no mention at all of sources for the quotations on 242-43? The general reader may well be mystified and the more serious student somewhat inconvenienced by such indifference to detail. And while we are worrying about both the general reader and the student, why not quote from Robinson's edition, the text more readily available to both than the less reliable Skeat?

Mr. Shelley's admiration for Chaucer is unbounded, his enthusiasm contagious, his knowledge of Chaucer's poetry deep, and his appreciation thereof acute. *The Living Chaucer* is an important study which should prove stimulating to all lovers of Chaucer but at the same time it is a book to be used with caution.

THOMAS A. KIRBY

Louisiana State University





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\* Books received which treat non-literary aspects of Latin-America will be found listed, and in many cases reviewed, in the *Revista Iberoamericana*.



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## The Review of English Studies

*Editor:* PROFESSOR JAMES E. SUTHERLAND

Published by the Oxford University Press

January 21st, 1941.

Professor Ray Heffner,  
MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY,  
University of Washington,  
Seattle, Wash., U.S.A.

Dear Professor Heffner,

Some months ago I wrote a letter to a number of American scholars in which I assured them that though life in England was less placid and altogether of more uncertain duration than it had been eighteen months ago, it was our intention to carry on THE REVIEW OF ENGLISH STUDIES, and my own particular aim to maintain its old standards of scholarship, and, if possible, its circulation. I said—what is true—that if I was to do either or both of these things I should have to rely, even more than usual, on the help and encouragement of American scholars. From my own experience of Americans I did not expect that my appeal would be ignored, and I was not therefore surprised when letters from America began to reach me; but I have been touched by the warmth and friendliness of these letters, and by the understanding that they reveal. I have, of course, replied individually to all those who have written to me, but I should be very grateful if you would let me express more publicly in the MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY my appreciation of the help which American scholarship is giving to us, and also to let it be known to those whom my letter may not have reached that the REVIEW means to carry on to better days.

You will be interested to hear that the British Museum has set a fine example to all of us by remaining open all through the last few months, and that though many of the younger readers have disappeared for the present, the older generation reads on unperturbed.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) JAMES E. SUTHERLAND



